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JOHN CALVIN IN AMERICA

W. STANFORD REID

On July 10th 1509 in Noyon, Picardy, there was born to Gerard Cauvin, notary of the local bishop, a son destined to be one of the most controversial figures of modern history. On the one hand he has followers who have admired him almost to the point of adulation, sometimes without being quite sure of why they did, while on the other hand he has had opponents who have regarded him as the incarnation of all that is unlovely and unholy. Not only the members of the Roman Church from which he broke away, but also rationalists, romantics, materialists and a great many other types have looked back upon him with dislike, very often for diametrically opposed reasons. Today John Calvin is perhaps not so well known in America as he was a century ago, nevertheless a good many people have some ideas concerning him and they are usually derogatory. It seems therefore to be a good idea on this four-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his birth to see what, if anything, we of this twentieth century American scene owe to him.

The reasons for Calvin's general unpopularity are usually three in number. In the first place he is regarded as the inventor of the "doctrine of predestination," which many claim destroys human freedom. Those who dislike Calvin for this reason forget that not only Martin Luther, but even a considerable number of leading medieval thinkers, as for instance Bernard of Clairvaux, looking back to St. Augustine and the Apostle Paul held much the same teaching.¹ Another reason for Calvin's unpopularity in certain sections is that owing to the facile generalizations of certain European sociologists, he has had fastened upon him the odium of being if not the father, at least the foster-father of modern capitalism.² The third principal cause of Calvin's bad reputation is that he is charged with the death of a Spanish doctor, Servetus, who came to Geneva where he was arrested and burned at the stake for heresy.³ For this

¹ K.R. Hagenbach, *History of Doctrines* (Edinburgh, 1880), II, 293ff; III, 95ff; A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, tr. from 3rd German ed. (London, 1899), VI, 10; VII, 288; Bernard of Clairvaux, "De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio," *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne (Paris, 1862), v. 182, col. 1020; H.T. Kerr ed., *A Compend of Luther's Theology* (Philadelphia, 1943), pp. 32ff.

² M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, tr. T. Parsons (New York, 1952), chaps. IV, V; E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, tr. O. Wyon (New York, 1931), II, chap. III:3; cf. also, R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (London, 1938), chap. IV, note 32.

³ S. Zweig, *The Right to Heresy* (New York, 1936); S. Castellio, *Concerning Heretics* ed. R.H. Bainton (New York, 1935).

Calvin is given all the blame, despite many other factors which were involved. With a few additional marks against him for some minor bad points these charges make up most of the information which the average person today possesses on the subject of Calvin.

Thus one finds that to many Calvin and Calvinism are reserved, as H. L. Mencken put it, for their own private chamber of horrors.⁴ Knowing little about the Genevan reformer except a few "salient" facts they dismiss him as not only historically unimportant but on the whole rather objectionable. The easiest means of dealing with him is to forget him as soon as possible. It is because of this attitude that Calvin's actual importance in the history of American development has been largely ignored. That he was one of the most original and influential thinkers of the sixteenth century was admitted in his own day by both friend and foe alike but today this fact is frequently forgotten. As one looks however at the history not only of Geneva where he lived, but also of France, Germany, Holland, Britain and even of Poland and Hungary, one is faced repeatedly with Calvin's impact on those countries in the sixteenth century and ever since. Consequently that he should have wielded a powerful influence on America also and still does, may almost be taken for granted.

At this point one may well inquire as to the reason for Calvin's influence. How was it that this learned but at times dyspeptic individual, living in the small commercial town of Geneva as a foreign preacher, was able to leave such an impress upon history? Part of the answer to this question is to be found in the personality of Calvin himself. Not only was he a man of great mental abilities, but he was also possessed of an iron will. Moreover believing in the sovereignty of God he held that his duty was implicitly to obey his Creator in all things. Consequently when convinced that he knew God's commands, he was absolutely unswerving in following the course set before him. It should be noted parenthetically, however, that when he considered a matter to be morally or spiritually indifferent, he was quite prepared to grant that one might do as he pleased. Coupled with this Calvin was a prolific writer pouring out pamphlets, biblical commentaries and sermons in great numbers. Most important of all he not only wrote but continually revised his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* which appeared in its final form in 1559, exactly 400 years ago.⁵

⁴ cf. Mencken's view of Calvin and Puritanism in *A Treatise of Right and Wrong* (New York, 1934) and in "Puritanism as a Literary Force," *A Book of Prefaces* (New York, 1918), pp. 197ff.

⁵ B.B. Warfield, *Calvin and Calvinism* (New York, 1931), chaps. I & VII.

Yet while taking proper account of Calvin's personality and his writings, one must stress that they are not the ultimate explanation of his influence. What he said was the important thing, that which formed the basis of his appeal to men in his own day and in the years which have followed. Therefore if one is to understand both the nature of and the reason for Calvin's influence one must first of all comprehend what he proclaimed to his own age, and behind that one must be able to see his pattern of thought. It was this pattern which has formed the basis for much of the intellectual development of the contemporary western world.

The foundation of Calvin's theology is the sovereignty of the Triune God who is absolutely holy, self-sufficient and self-determined. But Calvin never thinks of God as an abstraction. Man knows Him as sovereign through His works which He has done in time and space, and through His Word which He has spoken by His prophets and apostles, but most clearly by His incarnate Son, Jesus Christ, as recorded in the Scriptures.⁶

But what in Calvin's thought does God's self-revelation tell us? The first thing is that in the beginning God created all things which He now sustains and governs. Calvin is never tired of emphasizing that all that has been, is or will be in time and space is the result of God's creative and providential action. Therefore man, when he was placed upon the earth to rule over it, saw as he does now wherever he turns, the handiwork of God. This was man's environment which he recognized to be divinely ordained.⁷

The second thing which Calvin emphasized was that although placed in a position in which man recognized God as God, he nevertheless turned away desiring to declare his own independence, to which he has clung ever since. This is the basic sin which has depraved and corrupted man so that he does not, and indeed cannot, love and serve God. For this reason he has come under God's condemnation. But Calvin was no mere theologian of law, for he found in the Bible the teaching that God in His sovereign grace had eternally chosen a great multitude of sinners that they should be brought back to Him in love and obedience. To this end God send forth his Son that through His death on the cross He might redeem His elect and that by His Spirit He might bring about their return through faith to their Father's house.⁸

⁶ Warfield, chap. III; *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, tr. J. Allan (Philadelphia), I, vi.

⁷ *Institutes*, I, v; Warfield, chap. V.

⁸ The whole of books II and III of the *Institutes* deals with this matter, since to Calvin this was the heart and core of the Christian faith.

The third facet of Calvin's thought was that Christianity is intensely practical. The Christian must live his life according to the will of God. To this end God has established the family, the Church and the State. The family has the work of rearing and developing the individual in in true piety and of preparing him or her for the practical problems of life. The church is responsible for the instruction and guidance of the individual in both his private and public walk as a Christian, while the state has the duty of providing public peace and justice, that the Christian may live a godly and peaceful life. None of these institutions may lord it over the others, but they should cooperate and be mutually helpful in order that each may adequately fulfill its responsibility to God. With regard to the relation of church and state Calvin believed that the essential equality of all believers must be taken seriously which meant that such a thing as a dictator whether ecclesiastical or political was wrong. In both these spheres rulers whom He has endowed with gifts of leadership God chooses by means of the voice of the people. For this reason, Calvin laid down the principle that elective governments were the best, in this way setting forth the basis for what might be called Christian democracy.⁹

But what about the individual trained and nurtured by family, church and state? Did Calvin wish to place him in a totalitarian democracy? In answer to these questions one must admit that as a child of his own age he gave institutions much more authority over the individual than is our custom. Nevertheless, he also stressed that the ultimate authority over each man is God. Therefore, the individual is to live his life according to the will of God, regarding his life as a divinely appointed stewardship in which his talents, time and wealth are all to be used to the glory of God. Thus he gave a new meaning to life — a third dimension — bringing all time under the light of eternity (*sub specie aeternitatis*).

That Calvinism was a force with which to be reckoned is clear even in Calvin's own day. Although the Genevans rejected his leadership and guidance soon after he had unwillingly taken up his residence in their city, they realized within a few days of his departure into exile in Strasburg that they could not do without him. Consequently in less than three years he was back, again unwillingly, in the city on Lac Lemman where he continued to live until his death in 1564.¹⁰

Although holding only the position of the pastor of a church and not even a citizen until 1559, throughout his twenty-five years residence

⁹ *Institutes*, III, vi-viii; IV, xx; W. S. Reid, "The Christian in the World, A Facet of Calvin's Thought," *The Gordon Review*, III (1951), 40ff.

¹⁰ J. Cadier, *Calvin, l'Homme que Dieu a dompté* (Geneva, 1959), chap. VII.

in the city Calvin succeeded in moulding its life into a new form which in turn provided an example for Protestants in many other lands.

France, Calvin's homeland, naturally felt the earliest and in some ways the greatest impact of his activity and teaching. His works were often written in French of which he was one of the great masters and his earlier followers were primarily Frenchmen who frequently returned home filled with his teachings and imbued with his zeal to lead the Protestant forces. But France was only one of a number of countries so affected. Holland, Germany, Hungary, likewise felt the impact of his ideas while England and Scotland, particularly the latter experienced largely through his influence what were social revolutions. Thus the principal areas from which the later settlers in America were to come were vitally affected by Calvin's doctrines and principles.

As one attempts to understand the nature and extent of Calvin's influence, one must realize that his great appeal was not primarily to the poverty stricken and downtrodden peasantry, nor to the self-sufficient and complacent upper aristocracy interested in war, court intrigue, and sport. Rather he spoke directly to the intellectually active groups of his day: the middle class and the lower nobility. In the lands north of the Alps they formed the energetic and enterprising element which for the next three hundred years formed the hard core of the European economy and society. In Calvin's day despite their incompatibility with an outmoded social and economic pattern they were just beginning to rise to places of influence. It was the dynamic character of this relatively new social group which made it susceptible to Calvin's ideas speaking to them in tones which they understood.

For a century or more this element in western European society had been gradually pushing its way upward against the stultifying privileges of an entrenched church, aristocracy, and monarchy. As those who were increasingly accumulating the liquid wealth of Europe in their hands they resented the autocratic attitudes of the aristocracy and the outmoded moral code of the church which tended to circumscribe their activities. Consequently they appear in a partially rigid society, as a dynamic element seeking more individual independence and liberty in the conviction that they had the right to be free from medieval political, economic, and social restrictions. It was not surprising therefore that Calvin's teaching concerning man's direct responsibility to God in and for all of life received in these quarters a favorable hearing. While every Calvinist would hold that only by the Spirit of God can a man come to true Christian faith, at the same time it is obvious that this "middle" group in society was thus prepared for the coming of the Genevan pastor's teachings.

The consequences of this concatenation of cultural forces with Calvin's teachings meant that he had a ready-made audience.¹¹ Thus Calvin by 1550 had found strong support among those making up this group in all the lands of Europe at this time experiencing economic expansion.

The almost immediate effect of the acceptance of his views was as one might expect, a demand from the Calvinists for liberty to worship according to their consciences. Because such freedom was regarded by the existing ecclesiastical authorities as pernicious and evil, it was usually denied, for there were few in those days, even among the Protestants who believed in such a thing as religious toleration. This denial of Protestant liberty led straight into wars of religion in which the Calvinists in France, Holland, and Scotland put up long drawn battles for their very existence. Following the thinking of their day, they were if successful not infrequently inconsistent with their own presuppositions in attempting to establish a state-enforced conformity to their own views. But generally speaking they indulged in far less persecution than did their adversaries.

One of the most important results of these religious struggles was what amounted to a political revolution. For one thing, the battle for religious liberty was against an international organization, which usually received the support of the national rulers against their Calvinistic subjects. The inevitable result of this was an alliance of democratic nationalism with Calvinistic principles. The protagonists of the Genevan reformer's views in order to justify their opposition to the established authorities developed constitutional ideas on the basis of the doctrine that Christ who is head over both church and state, rules not merely through the monarch but through the people who are as a whole in a covenant relation with him. The people therefore, standing over against the crown had certain rights which they could enforce through their representatives, if need be by arms. This was the source of much of the Protestant political ideology of the seventeenth century.¹²

Calvin's influence, however, was more than political for it affected every aspect of life: the scientific method of a Bacon, the painting of a Rembrandt, the mathematics of a Ramus, and the artistry of a Palissy, all

¹¹ Tawney, *op. cit.* (above, note 2), chaps. II & III; C.G. Singer, "Calvin and the Social Order," in *John Calvin, Contemporary Prophet*, ed. J.T. Hoogstra (Grand Rapids, 1959), chap. XIII.

¹² For a fuller discussion of this theme see my "Calvin and the Political Order," *Ibid.*, chap. XIV.

owe much to Calvin's doctrine, and they represented a revolt against ideas which had long been held by leading European thinkers.¹³

The Calvinists' conflict with the ideology of their world which came to its full expression in the wars of religion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, led to a further development. Gradually Calvinists throughout Western Europe began to feel that their one hope of ever gaining religious freedom and of setting up a truly "Godly" community would be to leave Europe and settle in the new world. As Spain and Portugal controlled the southern hemisphere and France was extending her grip over the far northern areas, the only part left for colonists who were Protestant was in the center of the North American eastern seaboard. Consequently they began to consider the possibilities of migration, possibilities which became even more enticing when these prospective migrants could also see the possibility of bettering themselves economically. From the beginning of the seventeenth century Calvinistic groups in particular began to look toward the new world as a sure haven of refuge and the first group to go was made up of English Puritans some of whom had already been forced to leave their homeland for Holland because of their religious beliefs. In this way began the great and unending flood of European colonists to the New World.

While the original English settlement in Jamestown (1607) seems to have manifested relatively little direct religious motivation, since the outlook of the Church of England at this time was predominantly Calvinistic undoubtedly Calvin's views influenced it to a certain extent. But it was in New England that Calvinism from the very beginning dominated the scene, only it was a frontier Calvinism with certain individualistic, scholastic, and legalistic overtones of which the reformer probably would not have approved. Although here as elsewhere during the eighteenth century Calvin's influence for a time waned, it experienced a considerable revival under the preaching of men such as Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield. Thus English Puritan Calvinism not only dominated the New England settlements at the beginning of their history but continued to wield a strong influence upon them down into the nineteenth century thus helping to form the foundation of much contemporary American thinking.¹⁴

The English Puritans, however, although the earliest were by no means

¹³ A. Lecerf, *An Introduction to Reformed Dogmatics* (London, 1949), pp. 56ff.; R. Hooykaas, "Humanisme, Science et Réforme," *Free University Quarterly*, V (1959); L. Wencelius, *L'Esthétique de Calvin* (Paris, n.d.); cf. also P. Bourguet, A. Schlemmer, et al., *Protestanisme et Beaux-Arts* (Paris, 1945).

¹⁴ J.T. Adams, *The Foundation of New England* (New York, 1920), chaps. IV, XI; T.J. Wertenbaker, *The First Americans* (New York, 1927), chaps. IV, X.

the most important Calvinistic group to settle in the New World. Once England and Scotland united (1707), Scots, some of them from the earlier settlements in Ulster, but most of them from the Highlands, began to move to North America. Many came via New England to the Shenandoah Valley, while others settled after 1714 in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Then following the cession of Canada and later the American Revolution; either from United States or directly from Scotland itself other large contingents established themselves in what are now Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba. Since that time the movement has continued and until recent years has been largely Calvinistic in its outlook.¹⁵ In the Presbyterian Churches which have been organized in America, Scots have played a dominant role, some of these denominations even today being made up almost entirely of the descendents of Scottish or "Scotch-Irish" immigrants. Here Calvin's influence was particularly strong.

The Dutch, a third element among the early Calvinistic settlers occupied both Manhattan Island and the banks of the Hudson river. Although their control over this area was brought to a sudden end in 1664 with the cession to the English of New Amsterdam as a consequence of the Third Anglo-Dutch War, the influence of Dutch Calvinism by no means ceased. Not only did it continue to maintain its foothold in New York, but when early in the nineteenth century, as a result of economic and ecclesiastical difficulties in Holland, Van Raalte and his associates migrated to the New World, northern Michigan and areas to the west received a large influx of aggressively Calvinistic settlers.¹⁶ This flow of Dutch migrants continues even today, now spreading northward into Canada. Thus Calvin by this third route continues to make his influence felt.

To a lesser extent other national groups have also strengthened this trend. As result of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 there took place a large scale exodus of Protestants from France, many of these exiles eventually arriving on American shores. Calvinistic German soldiers, settlers from the Rhineland, as well as Hungarian Calvinists fleeing from either Austrian or Russian persecution have also reached this side of the Atlantic bringing with them their rather typically Calvinistic points of view.

The impact of these various national groups on America has varied greatly, for their acceptance of Calvin's doctrines and ideas has not always been of the same intensity. Some have been more or less oblivious to the

¹⁵ I.C.C. Graham, *Colonists from Scotland* (Ithaca, 1956), pp. 21, 120, 121, 181; W.S. Reid *The Church of Scotland in Lower Canada* (Toronto, 1936).

¹⁶ J.H. Kromminga, *The Christian Reformed Church, a Study in Orthodoxy* (Grand Rapids, 1949), chap. I.

Genevan reformer's influence upon them, but others have been very conscious of their standing in a strong Calvinistic tradition. This has meant that while some have tended to follow out unconsciously what were often the ideas of their Calvinistic forebears, others have endeavored to do so explicitly and deliberately. It must also be remembered that it has not always been the earlier groups of immigrants who have been the more consciously Calvinistic. It is probable that the Dutch immigrants under Van Raalte were much more determinedly Calvinistic than were many of those who originally settled on Manhattan Island. Nevertheless, whether conscious or unconscious of his influence, a large part of the settlers from North-West Europe have made Calvin's pattern of thought an integral element in American life.

Yet while speaking of the influence of the Calvinistic upon the American cultural pattern, one must be careful to admit that many other forces have wielded a strong parallel, or even counter, influence upon the complex social scheme of this continent. Eighteenth century deism and rationalism, nineteenth century materialism and pragmatism, twentieth century irrationalism and pessimism all seem so much more important and more influential than Calvinism. One must remember, however, that a good many of the types of such thinking are themselves secularizations of Reformation, and in particular of Calvinistic theology. Along with this, one must continually return to the fact that very considerable areas of the continent—the Hudson River Valley, New England, northern Michigan, the inland regions of Pennsylvania and the Carolinas, Nova Scotia and Ontario—have all been the seed plots in which Calvinism at one time or another has flourished. In our own day, consciousness of Calvin's influence may have been erased in some of these areas, but even where this has taken place not infrequently one finds vestigial remains in the forms of customs and ideals. The plant has been severed from the root but it continues to live at least in some of its branches.

Thus even when one takes into account all the other elements in our cultural heritage one has to admit that from the very beginning Calvin's ideas have been influential if not actually determinative. Moreover, the repeated influx of Calvinistic immigrants into the country has tended to reinforce and extend the Calvinistic forces which came in the earliest days. Much as they would hate to admit it, even the most anti-Calvinistic Americans such as the late H. L. Mencken, may have been more influenced by Geneva than they suspect. Whether Americans like him or not Calvin has had much to do with the shaping of their thought and action.

Perhaps some may feel, following the teaching of Weber, Troeltsch, Tawney and Beard, that Calvin's principal point of impact in America

has been the growth of a "rugged individualism" eventuating in an amoral if not immoral capitalism. This it is true may have been the attitude of some of Calvin's professed followers, but in making such a judgement it is necessary to keep in mind two things. One is that such professed followers of Calvin have usually been very strongly influenced by other forces such as rationalism, frontier conditions, and the like, which have helped to develop such an attitude. But even more important, when one goes back to Calvin one finds that Calvin does not lay down any principles upon which his followers, without great metamorphoses of his teachings, could build approval for a predatory system of economy. Calvin's real contributions have been generally in a different direction.

But what then has been Calvin's contribution? Basically of course Calvin's impact can be seen in the stress laid in many of the churches during the past 300 years on God's grace to men in Jesus Christ. This has always formed the core of Calvin's teaching, and still does in those ecclesiastical bodies who adhere to their original Calvinistic creeds.

Calvin's influence, however, has extended far beyond the confines of those churches claiming to be Calvinistic, and has done so largely by virtue of spiritual descendents' endeavour to apply his teachings to all of life. First and foremost in this connection has been the stress on Christian vocation, the idea that men are called to serve God in all things. From this there arose a concept of man's responsibility to God for all that he does, not only for his use of his money, but also of his time and his talents.¹⁷ Such a point of view while it may not still be attached to its original theological root, nevertheless, stemming largely from Calvin, has played a considerable part in the thinking and development of the American people.

Such an interpretation of life has resulted in a deep sense of obligation — an obligation to do God's will and to glorify Him, particularly by helping one's fellow men. This has found its outgrowth in hard work, frugality, and also generosity. There has been a strong tendency to think in terms of other people's needs and requirements. Even as David Brainerd and those like him felt the necessity of going as missionaries to the North American Indians or to non-Christian Asia and Africa, so America has offered help to those people seeking refuge within her borders or in need in distant parts of the earth. While this cannot by any means be interpreted as solely due to Calvin's influence, there is little doubt that his insistence

¹⁷ Tawney, chap. IV, in discussing the Puritan seems to go much too far in his attempt to link the Puritan and later economic developments, but he does give certain insights which are relevant and important. H.M. Robertson, *Aspects of Economic Individualism in the Puritan Age*, helps to provide a balance for Tawney's somewhat extreme position.

on one's responsibility for his brother's welfare has left an ineradicable impression on American concepts of philanthropy.¹⁸

These motifs of vocation and obligation arose out of Calvin's views on freedom. Although some twentieth-century men may feel that Calvin did not truly cherish liberty at all, it is nonetheless true that the Genevan reformer laid the basis for many of our modern ideas of liberty. His insistence that man was first and foremost bound to obey God rather than man or any man made institution laid the foundations for all types of freedom.¹⁹ In every sphere of life man finds himself face to face with God's demands for service with the result that in all these spheres his ultimate loyalty and obedience is not to human authority but to the sovereign God. This point of view has done much to shape American non-conformity, independence and individualism. Such an attitude possesses the positive power of forcing man to assert his individuality and of making him realize that there is a higher loyalty than that owed to any social institution.

This attitude has found one of its principal spheres of expression in an insistence upon religious freedom. Many people have come to this continent in search of such liberty, not the least among them being various Calvinistic groups. In the early days they were not always consistent in this, but frequently attempted to impose their views on others by force. Nevertheless, the principles to which they held inevitably led to the rejection of the idea that political power could be employed to ensure religious conformity, for if God is the only Lord over the conscience no man has the right to enforce belief by means of civil penalties. Thus New England intolerance broke down before the Puritans' own Calvinistic principles.

Hand in hand with the emphasis upon religious freedom and tolerance went a stress upon political liberty. Calvin while insisting that the civil authorities had no right to interfere with the church also held that in the best type of state the rulers exercised their office by popular mandate. He was no friend of unlimited dictatorship whether ecclesiastical or political. Under his guidance the church in Geneva had set up a form of representative government which was exported to France, Holland, England and Scotland. His "presbyterial" system, however, could be applied to more than ecclesiastical bodies. Thus the tendency soon developed among Calvin's followers to seek for a political government which gave them rights in the state parallel to those which they possessed in the church. While

¹⁸ J.M. Lechner, "Le Calvinisme Social," *Revue Reformée*, VII (1956).

¹⁹ J.T. McNeill, *John Calvin on God and Political Duty* (New York, 1950); and "The Democratic Element in John Calvin's Thought," *Church History*, XVIII (1949).

all Calvinists did not agree on the minute details of the proper form of the state, as they did not always agree on the divinely instituted pattern for the church, they all seem to have been one on the right of the individual to elect those who were to be his rulers. Out of this background of thought came much of the thinking of the American Revolution.²⁰

Insistence upon religious and political freedom has led naturally to a belief in economic and social freedom, not that Calvin would ever have accepted the type of economic and social freedom which has appeared as a result of the Industrial Revolution. He did however, strongly believe that because man is called by God to serve Him in society, man must do so to the utmost of his ability. The government must control to maintain righteousness and justice within society, but man should be free in order that he may freely obey God. Moreover, he is under the necessity of employing the returns from his economic activity in accordance with what he believes to be God's will, for the good of society.²¹ A fundamental part of the social philosophy of many of the earlier settlers, this point of view has remained down through the years until it has entered into the very warp and woof of American life.

Calvin realized also that a moral, "God-fearing" society would not grow up naturally. He was too thoroughly convinced of the corruption of man's whole nature for any such optimism. Consequently he emphasized the necessity of the members of society possessing a clear intellectual understanding of the Christian faith, a requirement which expected a high intellectual level of the people as a whole. To attain this end he stressed two things. The first of these was constant expository preaching with solid intellectual content. One only has to read Calvin's sermons to see how he himself endeavored to carry out his own precepts. But in order to ensure such preaching and intelligent appreciation of it, he insisted that sound education was an absolute necessity, and out of this conviction came in 1559 the founding of the Academy of Geneva.²² Following the Genevan example one finds Calvin's followers in other lands, France, Holland and Scotland, setting up their own educational systems culminating in the establishment of universities.

To this the Calvinists who came to America were no exception. Harvard and Yale both resulted from the same philosophy, as did later institutions such as Hope College and Calvin College in Michigan and

²⁰ J. Norton, *The Answer*, tr. D. Horton (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), chap. XV.

²¹ Cf. note 12 and A. Biéler, "Calvin, l'Argent et le Capitalisme," *Revue Réformée*, X (1959).

²² W.S. Reid, "Calvin and the Founding of the Academy of Geneva," *Westminster Theological Journal*, XVIII (1955).

Canadian universities such as Queen's (Kingston, Ont.), Toronto and Dalhousie (Halifax, N.S.) Most of these schools originally laid their great stress on training for the ministry in order that the people might possess an intelligent understanding of their faith. Many difficulties faced those who attempted to establish institutions of learning and education but the very problems themselves only strengthened their determination. The result was the development of both universities and a supporting school system which gave to all who wished at least the fundamentals of education.

Yet while religious education formed the primary interest other aspects were by no means ignored. Just as Calvin had insisted upon the teaching of the classics and of science in Geneva, so in the New World his followers, believing that God reveals himself in both nature and history as well as in the Scriptures likewise turned their attentions to these studies. Not only did Harvard, Yale, and other Calvinistic foundations introduce such subjects into their curricula, but when the Royal Society (1662) was founded in England, leading New England figures were among its earliest members. It is true that today the earlier institutions have radically changed their basic attitude to Calvin and his views, although others more recently founded still retain much of the reformer's outlook. But whether accepting or rejecting Calvin's ideas they all owe much to his original insistence that men must be educated in order that they may the more effectively serve God and their fellow men. Thus a considerable part of the American present day stress on education finds its roots in the Calvinistic tradition of the sixteenth century.

If one looks back over the past three hundred years or more, therefore, one cannot but recognize that Calvin has wielded a powerful influence on American development. In the country's earliest days he tended to dominate a large portion of American society and it was this element which formed the foundation for the building which has followed. Moreover with the later influxes of Calvinistically indoctrinated immigrants as well as continued adherence to such views on the part of some of the earlier Americans, Calvinism has continued to be a factor in the moulding of American thought and culture down to the present day. Thus despite non-Calvinistic and even anti-Calvinistic philosophies which seem to have obtained the dominant place in our world, America still retains something of the original Genevan design.

At the present America is facing one of the greatest crises of its history. For the first time it is experiencing a direct threat from a philosophy which is utterly alien in a great many ways to the historic American pattern, much of which we believe we have inherited from reformation Geneva. As a consequence Americans today are experiencing more doubt

and uncertainty than they have since their forefathers left the old world. It may be therefore that in this day and age, four hundred years after the publication of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Calvin may once again have a word to speak to America. As he was the comfort, solace, and inspiration of the early settlers by his emphasis on the sovereign grace of God, it may be that he will become today a means of moral strength to an America faced with a hostile power and philosophy which would bring about her destruction.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE COMMENTARIES OF JOHN CALVIN AND HIS *INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION*, AND THE BEARING OF THAT RELATIONSHIP ON THE STUDY OF CALVIN'S DOCTRINE OF SCRIPTURE

JOHN K. MICKELSEN

The relationship between the *Institutes* of John Calvin and his various commentaries is important because our understanding of Calvin's view of Scripture will be influenced by our evaluation of this relationship. The study of these matters is necessitated by the fact that some students and expositors of Calvin's doctrine of Scripture express the conviction that the commentaries do not reflect the strict doctrine found in the *Institutes*.¹

I. *The Close Relationship Between the Commentaries and the Institutes*

There is evidence that Calvin's commentaries are closely related to his *Institutes*. This may be seen in the historical production of these writings and in the interpretations of Scripture adopted therein.

A moment's reflection will remind the student of Calvin that the *Institutes* were not produced in isolation from the commentaries.² The first edition of the *Institutes* was published in 1535. This was followed by the second Latin edition in 1539, in which year Calvin also published his commentary on Romans. Then came the first French, the third Latin, and the second French editions of the *Institutes*; the last of these was published in 1545. Next come the commentaries on I and II Corinthians, Galatians,

¹ Cf. Emil Brunner, *Revelation and Reason*, tr. Olive Wyon (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1946), p. 275; and Calvin: *Commentaries*, ed. Joseph Haroutunian and Louise Pettibone Smith (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958), p. 33.

² See Appendix A.

Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Hebrews, Titus and Philemon. In 1550 the fourth Latin edition of the *Institutes* and the commentaries on I and II Thessalonians and Isaiah were published. In 1551 came the third French edition of the *Institutes* and the commentaries on I and II Peter, I John, James and Jude. These were followed by the commentaries on Acts, John, Harmony of the [Synoptic] Gospels, I and II Timothy and the Psalms. This brings us to 1559, the year of the fifth Latin edition of the *Institutes*, in which also the commentaries on the Minor Prophets were published. It is the fifth Latin edition of the *Institutes* which is generally recognized as the definitive edition.

This chronological survey indicates that the growth of Calvin's great treatise on theology and his exegetical works are interwoven. Unless he were guilty of compartmentalized thinking, this is clear *a priori* indication that a close relationship may be expected to exist between Calvin's *Institutes* and his commentaries.

This *a priori* expectation should be tested by comparing the use of texts referred to in the *Institutes* with their treatment in the commentaries. Initial indication that this expectation is in harmony with the facts of the matter may be seen in a study of Calvin's comments concerning the Scripture references in the first nine chapters in the first Book of the *Institutes*. There are 87 Scriptures referred to in this portion of the *Institutes*, according to the eighth American edition.³ Of these, 60 Scripture passages were treated in the commentaries to the same effect as in the *Institutes*; 21 passages were treated in the commentaries, but the comment given in the *Institutes* was not repeated in the commentaries on these passages; five Scriptures mentioned in the *Institutes* were not handled by the commentaries; and one passage was handled divergently in the commentaries from its treatment in the *Institutes*.

The results of this study of the treatment of the Scriptures mentioned in the first nine chapters of the *Institutes* have been tested by a study of the Scriptures referred to or quoted in a more typical sample of the remainder of the *Institutes*. This sample was obtained by taking every twentieth paragraph of the *Institutes*, beginning the count with I, x, 1. (The first paragraph included in the sample is I, xii, 1.) This method of sampling, which takes material from all portions of the *Institutes*, should give a more representative result than the study of one small block⁴ of the *Institutes*.

³ See Appendix B.

⁴ The first nine chapters constitute only 4% of the content of the *Institutes*: 63 pp. of the 1596 pp. of the 8th American ed.; and 40 pp. of the 1007 pp. of Tholuck's Latin ed., 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1874).

The results of this second study are as follows. There are 193 Scripture references in this sample, according to the eighth American edition.⁵ Of these, 114 Scripture passages were treated in the commentaries to the same effect as in the *Institutes*; 65 passages were treated in the commentaries, but the comment given in the *Institutes* was not repeated in the commentaries on these Scriptures; 14 passages mentioned in the *Institutes* were not handled by the commentaries; and no Scriptures were treated in the commentaries divergently from their handling in the *Institutes*.

The data from the larger and more representative sample gives no evidence that Calvin's treatment of Scripture in the *Institutes* and in the commentaries diverges with respect to their common matter. The combined data indicate that Calvin's treatment of Scripture diverges from that of his commentaries in approximately 0.6% of the common matter. These data strongly support the expectation that Calvin's commentaries and *Institutes* would be in substantial agreement in their handling of Scripture. In view of this "massive homogeneity"⁶ the burden of proof lies on those who allege that Calvin's commentaries show a substantially different attitude toward Scripture than does the view which is enunciated in the *Institutes*.

II. The Primacy of the *Institutes*

There is other evidence which bears on the relationship between the commentaries and the *Institutes*. It is set forth in Calvin's own words prefaced to various editions of the *Institutes*. He clearly states that his treatment of theological matters will be brief in his commentaries because he has given them full statement in his *Institutes*. Concerning the second Latin edition, of 1539, he stated:

My object in this work was to prepare and train students of theology for the study of the sacred volume. . . . Having thus, as it were, paved the way, I shall not feel it necessary, in any Commentaries on Scripture which I may afterwards publish, to enter into long discussions of doctrine, or dilate on common places, and will, therefore, always compress them.

In the second French edition, of 1545, he said:

Wherefore, should our Lord, give me henceforth means and opportunity of composing some Commentaries, I will use the greatest possible brevity, as there will be no occasion to make long digressions, seeing that I have in a manner deduced at length all the articles which pertain to Christianity.

⁵ See Appendix C.

⁶ The phrase is Reid's: see *Calvin: Theological Treatises*, tr. & ed. by J. K. S. Reid (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1954), p. 13.

In the fifth Latin edition, of 1559, we hear him affirming:

Having thus, as it were, paved the way, as it will be unnecessary, in any Commentaries on Scripture which I may afterwards publish, to enter into long discussions of doctrinal points, and enlarge on commonplaces, I will compress them into narrow compass.

Quite naturally, therefore, he states that those who would read his commentaries must have a knowledge of the *Institutes* as an "essential" and "indispensable prerequisite."

When we turn to the commentaries themselves, we see that the reformer carried out his intention. Thus, in such places as his comments on Genesis 3: 1, 6; Romans 3: 21; I Corinthians 1: 1; 3: 9; 5: 5; 10: 11; Ephesians 6: 2; and I Timothy 2: 6; 4: 14, he refers his readers to the *Institutes* for a detailed study of specific doctrinal matters.

We will better learn the intent of Calvin's remarks if we place his references before us. They are, respectively:

Whether he [Adam] sinned by necessity, or by contingency, is another question; respecting which see the INSTITUTION, and the treatise on PREDESTINATION.

A fuller proof of this matter [the consequences of Adam's fall], and a more ample definition of original sin, may be found in the INSTITUTES. When you come to the *Prophets* you will find the clearest promises of gratuitous mercy. On this subject see my *Institutes*.

As to the twofold call [of men into the ministry]—that of God and that of the Church—see my *Institutes*.

As to the reward of works, consult my *Institutes*.

Should any one wish to have anything farther in reference to the rite of excommunication, its causes, necessity, purposes, and limitations, let him consult my *Institutes*.

You will find more on this subject [the mode of the punishment of sins since Christ came] in my *Institutes*.

On this [the present life is a gift of God] and other kindred subjects I must refer my reader to the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*.

But a full illustration of this subject [the universal and perpetual benefit of redemption] will be found in the *Institutes*.

As to this ceremony [the laying on of hands] . . . the rest may be learned from the *Institutes*.

Up to this point we have noticed four things. We have seen that the growth of the *Institutes* and the commentaries of John Calvin are chronologically interwoven. Substantial evidence was found that the *Institutes*

and the commentaries are largely in agreement in their understanding of Scripture. We have noted Calvin's explicitly stated intention that the *Institutes* would have primacy over the commentaries in dogmatic matters. Finally, we saw evidence that Calvin had fulfilled this intention.

All this material points out that there is no reason for the *Institutes* to be considered subordinate to the commentaries as a source for discovering Calvin's thought. Indeed, the evidence gives weight to the contention that the commentaries must be subordinated to the *Institutes* in any proper investigation of the reformer's doctrines.

III. Calvin's Doctrine of Scripture

1. Facts have been presented above from which it was concluded that Calvin's commentaries and his *Institutes* are closely related, and that only the latter are determinative for Calvin's expression of his doctrines. Our next step is to present data from which Calvin's view of Scripture can be determined. In view of what we may call "the dogmatic primacy" of the *Institutes*, we will first determine the view of Scripture set forth therein; then we will proceed to the commentaries to see wherein they reflect this view. In conclusion, we will investigate those passages of the commentaries which are said to be contrary to the strict view set forth in the *Institutes*.

One thing must be kept in mind as we approach Calvin's writings. That is the fact that in Calvin's era the inspiration of Scripture was not under question. Consequently Calvin treats this matter more indirectly than directly, and with comparative brevity.⁷ Thus, for example, the reformer's sole comment on the clause, "The Scripture cannot be broken," is that it means that the teaching of Scripture is inviolable ("Scripturae doctrinam esse inviolabilem"—*Comm. on John 10: 35*).

In the *Institutes*, Calvin expounds his epistemology in Book I, Chapters i-ix. It is in this context of the doctrine of the knowledge of God that the reformer sets forth his view of Scripture. He states, in Chapter vi, that because we have failed to behold God in his creation we must look to Scripture, God's Word, which is, as it were, a public record of God's oracles to the fathers. In Chapter vii, he affirms that Scripture has come

⁷ For this reason Niesel errs in expecting the paucity of statements explicating the inspiration of Scripture to be found in Calvin's writings to be an embarrassment to those who hold strict theories of the inspiration of the Bible. See Wilhelm Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin*, tr. Harold Knight (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956), p. 31; and Geoffrey W. Bromiley, "The Church Doctrine of Inspiration," in *Revelation and the Bible*, ed. Carl F. H. Henry (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958), p. 210.

from God as directly as though God himself had been heard uttering it. The Holy Spirit testifies to this, so that those whom he has taught internally rest solidly in Scripture ("quos spiritus sanctus intus docuit, solide acquiescere in scriptura"—*Instit.*, I, vii, 5); for they feel perfectly assured that the written word came to them from the very mouth of God through the instrumentality of men. In Chapter viii, Calvin points out that there are subordinate proofs of the authority of the Bible; However, these secondary proofs do not in any way detract from the fact that Scripture is known to be the Word of God only by faith. In Chapter ix, he affirms that the Bible is not a dead letter to be subordinated to the Spirit; for we can recognize the Spirit only by means of the written Word.

There are other portions of the *Institutes* which shed more light on Calvin's doctrine of Scripture. In book I, Chapter xiii, paragraph 15, Calvin states that the Holy Spirit is the primary author of the Old Testament prophecies. In I, xiv, 16, he affirms that there is nothing in God's sacred oracles which is not for our edification. In I, xviii, 2,3,4, he asserts that the teachings of the Bible are the express declarations of the Holy Spirit; that the Scriptures are the oracles of heaven, for in them the Spirit speaks by the mouth of David and dictated to Job the latter's confession of God's providence; and that we are to welcome from quiet teachableness, and even without restriction, whatever is handed down in the Scriptures (" . . . mansueta docilitate amplecti, et quidem sine exceptione, quidquid in scripturis traditum est"—*Instit.*, I, xviii, 4). In III, xxi, 3, the reformer instructs us that we must be taught by all that is in Scripture, and to be content where Scripture stops, for it is the mouth of the Lord. In IV, viii, 6,8,9, he points out that the Old Testament histories which were written by the prophets were composed under the dictation of the Holy Spirit; that the guidance and dictation which the apostles received from the Holy Spirit consisted of the Spirit's suggesting to their minds what Christ had taught them with his mouth; and that the apostles were the certain and authentic amanuenses of the Holy Spirit, and their writings are the oracles of God. In IV, x, 7, Calvin's attitude is that God, and only God, governs us by the empire and laws of His Word.

This material from the *Institutes* directs us toward the conclusion that the words of the Bible are God's words: as much so as though the Holy Spirit had dictated them to the human authors. It is clear that Calvin's references to the Holy Spirit's dictating the Scriptures to his amanuenses are not to be interpreted as the actual method by which the Scriptures were produced; for the reformer stated that the Spirit's work in the apostles consisted of suggesting to their minds what Christ had taught

them. Calvin confines himself to the description of the results, not the method, of this "dictation."⁸

2. The view of Scripture set forth in the *Institutes* is also found in Calvin's commentaries. In his comment on Genesis 17: 1, he points out that the events selected and recorded by Moses are those very matters which the Holy Spirit chose for recording in Scripture. His comment on Romans 12: 3 affirms that Paul's voice, recorded in this epistle, is as though it was the voice of God himself. On II Timothy 3: 16, Calvin remarks that we owe to Scripture the same reverence which we owe to God, because it has proceeded from him alone, and has nothing human admixed ("eandem scripturae reverentiam deberi quam Deo deferimus, quia ab eo solo manavit, nec quidquam humani habet admitum"). So divine is the Bible that Calvin, commenting on I Corinthians 3: 22, states:

Now if any one takes occasion from this to allege, that the writings both of Paul and of Peter are subject to our scrutiny, inasmuch as they were men, and are not exempted from the common lot of others, I answer . . . as to Peter and Paul, this point being beyond all controversy, and the Lord having furnished us with amply sufficient evidence, that their doctrine has come forth from Him, when we receive as an oracle from heaven, and venerate everything that they have delivered to us, we hear not so much *them*, as Christ speaking in them.

In harmony with this line of thinking, Calvin's exposition of II Peter 1: 21 points out that the Holy Spirit ruled in the mouths of the Old Testament prophets as in his own sanctuary.

Even the concept of dictation is found in the commentaries. On II Timothy 3: 16, Calvin affirms that the Law and the Prophets are a doctrine dictated by the Holy Spirit ("legem et prophetias non esse doctrinam hominum arbitrio proditam: sed a spiritu sancto dictatam"). In the "Argument" in his *Comm. on John*, the reformer remarks that God dictated to the four Evangelists what they should write. Other references to dictation are found in his comments on Deuteronomy 32, Psalm 26: 9, Psalms 77 and 80, Jeremiah 36: 4, I Corinthians 2: 9, 15 and on I Peter 1: 11, 12.

Again, as in the *Institutes*, the concept of dictation is not strictly adhered to when Calvin directly refers to the Spirit's work in the penmen of the Bible. His comment on John 14: 26 affirms that the Spirit brought to the apostles' remembrance what Christ had taught. On Psalm 8: 1

⁸ Calvin's concept of dictation in the inspiration of the Bible is discussed by Kenneth S. Kantzer in the latter's "Calvin and the Holy Scriptures," in *Inspiration and Interpretation*, ed. John F. Walvoord (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1957), pp. 137-141.

and on I Corinthians 1: 2, he describes the Holy Spirit's work as *direction*. On Psalm 59: 5, he speaks of the *influence* of the Spirit. According to Calvin's comment on Jeremiah 36: 4, the work of the Spirit is said to be that of suggesting to Jeremiah whatever might have been erased from his memory.

The high view of Scripture promulgated in the *Institutes* is also set forth in the commentaries. In the latter, as in the former, the Bible is entirely and ultimately from God. The general concept of dictation is retained; and that concept is not to be taken as an exact description of the method by which the Holy Spirit worked in the human authors. In both the *Institutes* and the commentaries, Calvin indicated that the Scriptures are to be accepted as a divine holograph even though they have human authors.

3. There are other passages in Calvin's commentaries which must be considered; for they are presented as evidence that the reformer did not, in actual practice, carry his dogmatic view of Scripture into his exegetical studies.

Before we turn to some of these passages, we must note that the crucial matter is not that Calvin found difficulties in the text of Scripture; for all serious students of the Bible have found difficulties. Nor is the validity of Calvin's suggested reconciliations crucial; it is the attitude which motivates the attempted reconciliation that is important. If we find that Calvin's attitude was that, to his mind, the difficulties can be reconciled to the point where their existence does not undermine his strict view of the character of the Bible, then we may conclude that the reformer labored under the conviction—even in his exegetical studies—that he was dealing with inerrant writings.

The passages which are presented as grounds that Calvin did not hold to a strict view of Scripture may be classified under four heads:⁹ those that show that Calvin adhered loosely to the words of the Biblical text; those that show that he acknowledged that the authors of the New Testament treat the Old Testament freely; those that show that the reformer treats lightly acknowledged errors in the Bible; and those that he finds accommodation to mistaken opinion in the Bible.

a. Two comments may be considered under the first head. On Psalm 68: 4, Calvin states:

The Hebrew preposition *beth* may here . . . be a mere expletive, and we may read, *Jah is his name*. Others read, *in Jah is his name*; and I have no objection to this . . . It is of less consequence how we construe the words, as the meaning of the Psalmist is obvious.

⁹ See Appendix D.

And, on Psalm 68: 14, he remarks:

There is more difficulty in the second part of the verse, some reading it, *it was white in Salmon*. . . . Or the verb may be viewed as in the second person—*Thou, O God! didst make it fair and white as mount Salmon with snows*. The reader may adopt either construction, for the meaning is the same.

In these places Calvin is not denying his adherence to the words of Scripture; he is affirming that the words are the vehicles of the meaning. This is his thought on Matthew 5: 40, which mentions coat and cloak, and Luke 6: 29, which refers to cloak and coat; here Calvin points out that the different expressions do not alter the sense ("*Diversae loquutiones apud Matthaeum et Lucam sensum non mutant*" — *Harmony of the Evangelists*, sec. 49). This is not to say that he minimizes the importance of the words of Scripture. The extensive use he makes of lexical and syntactical materials is abundant witness that he is concerned to appreciate every morpheme in the text of the Bible. This is in accord with, not contrary to, his high view of Scripture.

b. There are several places in which Calvin acknowledges that the New Testament writers treat freely the exact phraseology of the Old Testament. Expounding Psalm 8: 5, he states:

We know what freedoms the apostles took in quoting texts of Scripture; not, indeed, to wrest them to a meaning different from the true one, but because they reckoned it sufficient to show, by a reference to Scripture, that what they taught was sanctioned by the word of God, although they did not quote the precise words. Accordingly, they never had any hesitation in changing the words, provided the substance of the text remained unchanged. . . . What the apostle says in that passage [Heb. 2: 7] concerning the abasement of Christ for a short time, is not intended by him as an explanation of this text; but for the purpose of enriching and illustrating the subject on which he is discoursing, he introduces and accommodates to it what has been spoken before in a different sense. The same apostle did not hesitate, in Rom. x. 6, in the same manner to enrich and employ, in a sense different from their original one, the words of Moses in Deut. xxx. 12. . . . A similar account may be given of Paul's declaration in Eph. iv. 8, in which he does not so much explain the meaning of the text, (Ps. lxxvii. 18,) as he devoutly applies it, by way of accommodation, to the person of Christ.

On Psalm 40: 7, Calvin comments:

The Apostle, in Heb. x. 5, seems to wrest this place, when he restricts what is spoken of all the elect to Christ alone . . . and when quoting rather the words of the Septuagint than those of the prophet, he infers from them more than David intended to teach. As to his restricting this passage to the person of Christ, the solution is easy. David did not speak in his own name only, but has shown in general what belongs to all the

children of God. But when bringing into view the whole body of the Church, it was necessary that he should refer us to the head itself. . . . As to this, that the Apostle, following the Septuagint, has made subservient to his own use the word *body*, which is not used here by David, in such allusion there is no inconsistency; for he does not undertake expressly to unfold and explain in every point the Psalmist's meaning.

The reformer also makes similar statements on Psalm 68: 18.

These quotations show that Calvin strictly limited the area of freedom with which the inspired authors of the New Testament handled the Old; for they never distorted a text from its true meaning whenever they explained it. The basis on which he founds this conviction is stated in his comment on I Corinthians 2: 9. Here he affirms that it is the Holy Spirit who dictated Isaiah's prophecy who is also expounding it through the mouth of Paul. Furthermore, according to his comment on Hebrews 11: 21, there is no danger in using an inferior version of Scriptures in accommodation to the unlearned provided that the readers are called back to the genuine and native reading of Scripture ("et in ea re nihil est periculi, modo semper revocentur lectores ad sinceram nativamque Scripturae lectionem"). Calvin is convinced that the New Testament use of the Old Testament at no place endangers the truth of the written word.

c. Calvin's treatment of Matthew 27: 9 and Acts 7: 16 are two instances of his ready acknowledgement of error in Scripture. On the former, he comments:

How the name of *Jeremiah* crept in, I confess that I do not know, nor do I give myself much trouble to enquire.

On the latter, he comments:

And whereas he [Stephen] saith afterwards they were laid in the sepulchre which Abraham had bought of the sons of Hemor, it is manifest that there is a fault in the word Abraham. . . . Wherefore this place must be amended ["quare hic locus corrigendus est"].

It must be observed that the reformer does not say that these errors were in the original text of Scripture. The importance of this observation is confirmed by Calvin's treatment of Acts 7: 14, where his comment clearly presupposes that the original text is without error. For, after troubling himself to inquire into the matter, he concludes that Stephen's statement contradicts Moses because of textual corruption. He states this even though there is no manuscript authority, so far as the present writer could find, to support him in this conclusion. When we keep in mind the reformer's affirmation, found in *Comm. on Gen. 24: 2*, "I do not willingly follow uncertain conjectures," his appeal to a conjectured

textual corruption is evidence that he labored under an extremely high view of the inspiration of the Bible.

d. The reformer finds the biblical authors using phraseology which reflects commonly received, but nevertheless mistaken, opinion. This is seen in his comments on Psalm 58:4; 136:7-9 and 19:4. In Psalm 58, David compares his enemies to deaf serpents which refuse to hear the voice of the charmer. Calvin sees no harm in granting that David insinuates that serpents can be enchanted; however, such enchantment is "a mere sleight of Satan." If, to avoid all occasion for curious enquiry, it be assumed that David is accommodating himself to mistaken opinion, this does not mean that David himself accepted that opinion—for he was referring to this species of serpent "if such there were." In regard to Psalm 136:7-9 and Psalm 19:4, Calvin's comments are that the astronomical statements of the passage are in "popular language" and "homely style;" yet the statements are true as the "visible effects" appear "to the eye." The reformer understands these accommodations to be of such a nature that the factual accuracy of the Bible is not in any way compromised.

This brief study of some of John Calvin's more provocative comments on Holy Scripture gives evidence that, though the reformer saw and acknowledged the existence of difficulties in the text of the Bible, he did not come across any difficulties which necessitated the abandonment of his strict view of Scripture. With the editors of the recently-published twenty-third volume of "The Library of Christian Classics," we may say, "Dr. Edward A. Dowey maintains that Calvin assumes the traditional views of the inerrancy of the Bible even while he comments upon it as the work of human beings This position . . . seems correct."¹⁰

Evidence has been presented that an "immense consistency"¹¹ of thought unites Calvin's *Institutes* and commentaries, and that the former has primacy over the latter in dogmatic matters. It was seen that the *Institutes* sets forth a very high view of the inspiration of Scripture, and that the commentaries fully reflect this dictation theory—passages alleged

¹⁰ Calvin: *Commentaries* (above, note 1), p. 33, footnote 38. This study has confined itself to but one facet of Calvin's view of Scripture: the divine nature of the written Word. Modern evangelicalism not only follows Calvin in his view of the divine aspect of Scripture; it is also his follower in recognizing that the Bible has human aspects, and that the reader of Scripture needs also the work of the Spirit in his heart. See Bromiley, *op. cit.* (above, note 7), pp. 211f.; and J. Theodore Mueller, "The Holy Spirit and the Scriptures," in *ibid.*, pp. 267-281.

¹¹ See note 6 above.

to the contrary notwithstanding. Therefore we conclude that John Calvin held strictly—though with full awareness of the complexity of the phenomena of Scripture—to the view that the Scriptures are inerrant.

APPENDIX A

A table showing the chronology of the production of Calvin's Institutes and commentaries

<i>Year</i>	<i>Institutes¹</i>	<i>Commentaries²</i>
1535	1st Latin edition	
1539	2nd Latin edition	Romans
1541	1st French edition	
1543	3rd Latin edition	
1545	2nd French edition	
1546		I Corinthians, II Corinthians
1548		Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians
1549		Hebrews, Titus, Philemon
1550	4th Latin edition	I Thessalonians, II Thessalonians, Isaiah
1551	3rd French edition	I Peter, II Peter, I John, James, Jude
1552		Acts
1553		John
1555		Harmony of the Evangelists
1556		I Timothy, II Timothy
1557		Psalms
1559	5th Latin edition	Minor Prophets

APPENDIX B

Scripture references to Calvin's Institutes, I, i-ix: their treatment in the commentaries compared with their treatment in the Institutes.

To the same effect: Gen. 18:27; 59:5, 10 Exodus 16:7; 19:16; 40:34 Nb. 12:1; 16:24ff. Dt. 17:18; 30:11-14; 32 Ps. 8:2, 4; 10:11; 14:1; 19:1ff., 1, 3, 7; 29; 92:6; 93; 93:5; 96; 104:2, 3f.; 107; 107:43; 113:7; 145:9; Isa. 6:2; 24:23; 42:9; 43:10; 53:1; 54:13; 59:21 (I, ix, 1) Hab. 2:18, 20 Lk. 24:27ff. John 4:22 (twice); 16:13 Acts 14:16, 17; 17:27 (I, v, 14) 17:28 (I, v, 3)

¹ These dates are taken from B. B. Warfield, "The Literary History of Calvin's Institutes," in *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 8th American ed. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1949).

² These dates were taken from the dedicatory epistles, as given in *Ioannis Calvini in Novum Testamentum Commentarii ad Editionem Amstelodam*, ed. A. Tholuck, 7 vols. (Berlin: Gustav Eichler, 1833-1834); they were supplemented by reference to the English translations of the Calvin Translation Society. It is here assumed that the dates of dedication are the dates when the respective writings were ready to go to the printer for publication.

Rom. 1:19, 20 (thrice), 21; 10:4 I C. 2:4 Gal. 4:8 Eph. 2:12 (twice), 20 I Th. 5:19 I Ti. 4:13 II Ti. 2:13 Heb. 11:3 (twice) II P. 1:19.

Total 60 cases

No such comment: Ex. 34:29 Lev. 20:6 Nb. 20:11 Ps. 36:1; 40:12; 145:6 Isa. 6:9; 39:6; 45:9; 59:21 (I, vii, 4) Jer. 25:11, 12 Acts 17:27 (I, v, 3 and 9) 17:28 (I, i, 1) Rom. 1:22; 10:6-8 I C. 2:8; 3:19 II C. 3:8 I Ti. 6:16 II Ti. 3:16, 17. 21 cases

No comment: Ex. 24:18 Nb. 11:9 Jdg. 13:22 I K. 19:13 II K. 22:8. 5 cases

Divergently: II C. 3:6 (I, ix, 3). 1 case

APPENDIX C

*Scripture references in every twentieth paragraph of Calvin's Institutes.
I, x, 1 through IV, xx, 32: their treatment in the commentaries
compared with their treatment in the Institutes*

In this table the following paragraphs come in consideration: I, xiii, 18 and xiv, 9, II, ii, 21; iv, 1; v, 13; vii, 10; viii, 13, 33, 53; x, 9; xi, 6; xiv, 1; xvi, 7. III, i, 2; ii, 38; iii, 15; iv, 10, 30; viii, 6; xi, 3, 23; xiv, 7; xv, 6, xvii, 14; xix, 9; xx, 13, 33; xxi, 1; xxiv, 9; xxv, 12. IV, i, 20; ii, 11; iv, 3; v, 8; vi, 9 viii, 2; ix, 6; x, 15; xii, 7; xiii, 19; xiv, 18; xv, 12; xvi, 30; xvii, 38; xviii, 8; xix, 8, 28.

To the same effect: Gen. 2:9, 16f.; 9:12-17; 15:17; 17:7 Ex. (20:2f) 28:35 Dt. 17:8, 11, 12; 33:3 Ps. 7:8; 17:1, 3; 18:21ff; 26:1, 4, 9-11; 63:3; 65:2; 69:28; 119:18; 130:3; 143:2; 145:19 Isa. 5:8; 29:13; 30:33; 33:24; 53:5; 55:2; 66:24 Jer. 7:22f Eze. 7:26; 13:9; 16:20 Hos. 2:18f; 14:2 Joel 2:28 Amos 6:1 Mic. 3:6 Hag. 2:11-14 Zech. 13:9 Mal. 2:4-7 Mt. 3:12; 7:7, 12; 8:12; 13:16; 17:5 Lk. 6:24f; 10:24; 18:14; 20:37-40; Jn. 1:14; 5:24; 6:70; 13:18; 17:12 Acts 8:16; 13:38f., 39; 20:26 (quoting Gregory with approval) Rom. 1:4; 3:24 (III, xv, 6), 26; 4:5; 5:5, 19; 6:7; 6:4f., 4-6; 7:24; 8:1, 3f., 9, 9, 11, 11, 33f.; 11:5f., 36; 13:8 I C. 4:4; 5:3-5; 10:16, 16f.; 11:32; 14:15, 16f; 15:45 II C. 1:12; 5:21; 7:11; 13:14 Gal. 3:8; 4:10f.; 5:14; 6:14 Eph. 1:17f., 22; 2:2; 4:7, 15, 15f. Phil. 4:11f. Col. 1:13, 18 I Ti. 2:6; 4:14; 5:9, 14, 12 Heb. 1:6; 2:9, 14f.; 12:8 I P. 1:11, 12 I J. 5:12. 114 cases

No such comment: Ex. 3:6; 20:6; (20:8-11, 17) Lev. 16:21 Ps. 16:2; 50:15 (twice); 91:12 Jer. 4:9; 33:8 Hos. 5:15 Mal. 3:1 Mt. 4:6; 10:20; 15:7-9; 18:10; 22:13, 30, 32-34; 24:36; 25:31 Mk. 9:43f. Lk. 4:10; 7:29, 35; 9:26; 10:20; 15:10; 16:15, 22; Jn. 7:37; 16:14 Acts 2:4; 7:53; 19:5; 20:28 Rom. 3:24 (III, iv, 30); 14:5, 23 I C. 11:24f., 26, 28, 29 II C. 4:4 Gal 3:19, 27 Eph. 2:6; 3:17; 5:23 Col. 2:10, 16f.; 3:3, 5 I Ti. 1:9f.; 5:21 Tit. 1:15 Heb. 1:4; 2:5, 16; 12:3, 22f. Jas. 1:17 I J. 3:24; 5:12 (an additional comment in III, xv, 6) 65 cases

No comment: Jdg. 6:37-40 I S. 1:13; 26:23 II S. 7:21; 12:13 I K. 1:21; 22:6, 22, 24, 27 II K. 20:11 Prv. 3:11f. Ecc. 3:19; 9:1, 2 Eze. (39:25-28) Lk. 22:17. 14 cases

Divergently no case

APPENDIX D

Classification of some passages in Calvin's commentaries adduced to show that Calvin did not hold to a strict view of Scripture

I. Calvin Adheres Loosely to the Words of Scripture

Comm. on Ps. 68:4, 14

Comm. on Harmony of the Gospels, sec. 49 (on Mt. 5:4 and Lk. 6:29)

II. Calvin Acknowledges the Free Use of the Old Testament Made by the New Testament Writers

Comm. on Ps. 8:5; Ps. 40:7f.; Ps. 68:18; Rom. 3:4; Rom. 10:6; I Cor. 1:19; I Cor. 2:9; Heb. 11:21

III. Calvin Treats Lightly Acknowledged Errors in Scripture

Comm. on Harmony of the Four Last Books of the Pentateuch (on Num. 25:9; 28:26) Comm. on Ps. 39:13; Ps. 88:5; Harmony of the Gospels, sec. 206 (on Mt. 27:9); Acts 7:14, 16.

IV. Calvin Notes Accommodations to Mistaken Opinion in Scripture

Comm. on Ps. 19:4; Ps. 58:4 Ps. 136:7-9.

NOTE: A. These passages were mentioned in:

1. Frederic W. Farrar, "Excursus XI, Old Testament Quotations," in *The Life of Christ, with Original Illustrations* (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, n.d.).
2. Ronald A. Wallace, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1953), pp. 111-113.
3. Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, VIII (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1950 reprint of 3rd ed.), 535.
4. George P. Fisher, *History of Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1949 impression of 1896 ed.), p. 299.

B. The passages which are not discussed in the body of this paper have been treated by the present writer in the thesis which he submitted to the Faculty of Knox College, Toronto, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.

THE FREEDOM OF THE WILL IN WILLIAM AMES AND JONATHAN EDWARDS

CHARLES N. PICKELL

The first tides of the Reformation had hardly subsided when in 1576 William Ames, who was to become the spokesman for early New England theology, was born at Ipswich, England. The son of an affluent merchant, he was nourished on Puritan doctrine first by his parents and later by an uncle, with whom he lived after the death of his father and mother. Educated in local Latin school and Cambridge University, then the

center of English Puritanism, Ames became thoroughly conversant with the movement and its implications. His intellectual acumen and expository gifts were soon revealed and the opponents of Puritanism recognized in him a cogency with which they would have to reckon. Efforts were soon exerted to limit the scope of his influence ultimately resulting in his exile in Holland.

Ames found the theological climate of Holland more conducive to his work, though even there English prelacy was to hamper him due to the presence of British troops and the considerable number of British subjects in Dutch cities. Notwithstanding this, when the Synod of Dort met in 1618-1619, Ames, as Secretary to the Moderator, was a leading figure contributing much to the repudiation of Arminianism. In 1619 the Synod of South Holland recommended him to the Curators for the chair of Christian Ethics at the University of Leyden, but due to the aspersions cast on him by the English prelates because of his Puritan position, the appointment was not made. For a time Ames served as a tutor outside the university, yet associated with it. Finally in 1622 he was called to the University of Franeker, the local English people standing between him and the Archbishop. As an author Ames is best known for his *Marrow of Sacred Theology* and *The Conscience* though he produced several lesser works and a number of translations. He died in 1633, having been taken ill due to exposure during a flood in Rotterdam to which he had been called as pastor to the English Church. Despite the fact that he never visited New England, Ames, through his teaching and the use of his writings by others became the leavening agent in early New England theology.

Seventy years after the death of Ames, Jonathan Edwards was born at Windsor, Connecticut. The son of a Puritan minister, he was the fourth generation of his family to reside in New England. A precocious youngster, Edwards commenced the study of Latin at the age of six, and when he matriculated at Yale College seven years later he had a reading knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Unlike Ames, Edwards was destined for the parish ministry, first as assistant to his grandfather Solomon Stoddard, and then as pastor at Northampton, Massachusetts. He later became a missionary to the Indians at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where much of his writing was done.

During his ministry at Northampton, Edwards became engaged in debate over the Arminianism that was implicit in the "Half-Way Covenant" and the teaching of many of the contemporary Boston divines. After a twenty-four year pastorate at Northampton, he was dismissed and became, in a sense, an exile. As an author Edwards is remembered

primarily for his *Enquiry Into . . . the Freedom of the Will* and *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*. He died in 1758, three weeks after assuming the Presidency of Princeton College.

The points of similarity between Ames and Edwards are noteworthy. Both were born into Puritan homes, received a classical education, found themselves in conflict with Arminianism, knew the privations of exile, were prolific writers producing a wealth of tracts and books on current theological issues, and considered themselves orthodox Calvinists. Yet there is a point at which many scholars feel there is a considerable difference in their teaching.

The alleged discrepancy, which is focused in their attitude toward human freedom, finds its roots in Calvin's teaching. Those who sense this difference view Calvin's teaching on human freedom as pure, arbitrary determinism with little or no place for the wills of men, which Perry Miller characterizes as "the holy rape of the soul". Against this emphasis, it is contended, the English Puritans and their American cousins largely through the influence of Ames rebelled, modifying severe Calvinism and affording man a significant role in his own salvation through the covenant and the use of the means of grace. Indeed Miller¹ considers this position as it later developed in Hooker, Mather, and Shepard, incipient Arminianism and sees Edwards' teaching as a return to pure Calvinistic determinism and a departure from the theology of early New England.

That Ames did place strong emphasis on preparation for salvation and the means of grace, none can deny. The pivotal questions, however, are whether this emphasis caused him to be any less deterministic so far as the salvation of the soul (which was the fundamental issue in their discussion of freedom) is concerned, and whether it is correct to assume that Edwards' teaching, or that of Calvin himself, precluded an emphasis of this kind. Concerning the latter Everett Emerson says:

Calvin clearly assumes that those who are converted are exposed to the preaching of the gospel before grace works conversion. Faith is higher than understanding, but a degree of understanding—though of course not adequate for conversion—Calvin assumes will come before conversion. . . . Conversion is for Calvin just what Miller says it is for the Covenant Theologians, a reinvigoration of the various capacities of the soul, illuminating the mind and supporting the affections.²

And Parker presses the point further, "There is . . . according to Calvin, a certain knowledge which precedes and begets faith; which is; indeed a

¹ Perry Miller, "Preparation for Salvation In New England", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, IV (June, 1943), 262.

² "Calvin and Covenant Theology", *Church History*, XXV (June, 1956), 139.

praeparatio fidei."³ Thus Calvin himself, at least in passing, refers to a kind of preparation for salvation. Considering the relationship between the knowledge of self and the knowledge of God he says:

... Everyone, therefore, must be so impressed with a consciousness of his own infelicity, as to arrive at some knowledge of God... The knowledge of ourselves, therefore, is not only an incitement to seek after God, but likewise a considerable assistance toward finding Him.⁴

And he admonishes us:

Wherefore it becomes us also to apply ourselves to such an investigation of God, as may fill our understanding with admiration, and powerfully interest our feelings.⁵

While it is evident that this is not so precise a presentation of the concept of preparation for salvation as Ames and his follower promulgated, the element of preparation is here implied by Calvin as, indeed, it is in several other places in the *Institutes*.

Edwards, on the other hand, deals with the use of the means of grace in more than a passing manner in his *Enquiry Into the Freedom of the Will* where he devotes a whole section to the consideration of the use of means and endeavors,⁶ and constantly appeals to it in his sermons. An examination of the aforementioned section reveals that though his main thrust is to show that means are vain unless they produce the desired end, theoretically at least he defends their use.

There appears to be no fundamental disagreement between Ames and Edwards on this point, for Ames studiously avoided any hint or suggestion that man had a part in his salvation. "Hence the calling of men doth not in any sort depend upon the dignity, honesty, industry, or any endeavour of the called, but upon the election and predestination of God only."⁷ And he further comments, "There is no other cause or reason to be given to election unto salvation, but only the pleasure of God . . . this may serve to refute those, that make God's election to depend upon our faith and perseverance, as a cause or condition requisite."⁸ Even the early New England divines who propagated and expanded

³ T. H. L. Parker, *The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God, A Study of the Theology of John Calvin* (Edinburgh and London, 1952), p. 102.

⁴ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Philadelphia, 1936), I, i, 1.

⁵ *Institutes*, I, v, 9.

⁶ Jonathan Edwards, *A Careful and Strict Enquiry Into the Modern Prevailing Notions of that Freedom of the Will Which Is Supposed to Be Essential to Moral Agency, Virtue and Vice, Reward and Punishment, Praise and Blame* (New Haven, 1957), pp. 265-371.

⁷ William Ames, *Marrow of Sacred Theology* (London, 1642) I, 26.6.

⁸ William Ames, *An Analyticall Exposition of Both the Epistles of the Apostle Peter, Illustrated by Doctrines Out of Every Text* (London, 1641), pp. 3, 4.

the concept of preparation for salvation did not consider themselves to have departed from the belief that, in the last analysis, salvation is all of God. Miller points this out:

Preparation did not need to be called a saving act of the human will, it could be set forth as no meritorious work in any Arminian sense, not even as a part of faith at all, but as a mere inclination to accept faith, should faith ever come. This much a corrupt man might do, for it was rightly no motion of his soul, it was no lifting of himself by his own bootstraps, but simply an attitude of expectancy.⁹

Preparation, then, was incipient Arminianism only in so far as men failed to comprehend its design. The Puritan divines from Ames on were always careful to ascribe to God the act of salvation and avoid the least suggestion that a man might save himself.

It hardly seems necessary, in the light of what has already been said, to point out that his emphasis on preparation in no way limited Ames' concept of determinism. While he lays great stress on human response and conduct, he consistently refers to God's predestination of things, and refuses to limit that predestination to the view that it is the outgrowth of divine foreknowledge.

In order of intention there is no foreknowledge, forerrequired, or ought to be presupposed unto the decree of predestination, . . . because it depends not upon any reason, or externall condition, but both purely proceed from the will of him that doth predestinate.¹⁰

And he emphasizes the fact that predestination does not presuppose any merit (or preparation) in man, "For predestination before the application of grace doth put nothing in the persons predestinated, but it doth lie hid only in him that doth predestinate."¹¹

In this Ames, Edwards, and Calvin are agreed, for predestination by its intrinsic nature involves the determination of things apart from that which the determiner knows will happen whether he determine or not. Edwards argues that if God knew in advance that certain actions would take place and then determined that they should take place, freedom in the Arminian sense is precluded, for if man be truly free he could, in theory at least, change his course of action at the last moment. So it appears that either man is not a free moral agent in the Arminian sense, or God does not know what will happen.

Both Ames and Edwards trace man's spiritual inability to the fall and original sin which resulted in his depravity. Ames points out:

⁹ Miller, p. 261.

¹⁰ Marrow, I.25.11.

¹¹ Marrow, I.25.2.

By reason of this originall depravation, it commeth to passe, that although the will of man be free in the state of sinne, as touching all acts which it doth exercise, yet it is captive and serville, as touching the manner of doing, because it is deprived of that power whereby it should will well, and that inclination is as it were a forme whereby it comes to passe that it willeth amisse, even when that thing is good which it is exercised in willing.¹²

While man has a will and that will is free in one sense of the term, it is truly bound by the power of sin which taints even a good choice with evil. The gist of Edwards' position is similar. To will belongs to man. To will to do evil belongs to fallen man. To will to do good belongs to grace. Sinful men do accomplish things other than sin, but their achievements are corrupted and marred by sin. Both men indicate that there is no merit in any action of man and that all are in bondage to sin until God sets them free. Edwards shows the insufficiency of good works:

There is no great merit in paying a debt we owe, and by the highest possible obligations in strict justice are obliged to pay, but there is great demerit in refusing to pay it. That on such accounts as these there is an infinite demerit in all sin against God, which must therefore immensely outweigh all the merit which can be supposed to be in our vertue, I think, is capable of full demonstration.¹³

Man is not, however, left without a witness of the right. Ames speaks of "a certaine force of naturall conscience" saying,

In the will those remainders appear by a certain inclination unto good knownen in that manner, which although it be vanishing, and dead, yet it is found in all in some measure: whence also it is that at least the shadowes of vertues, are allowed and embraced of all...also that restrayning power pertaineth to the will together with the understanding whereby excesse of sinne is restrained in most, so that even sinners doe abhorre the committing of many grosser sinnes.¹⁴

Contemporary Calvinism would refer to this as a part of "common grace", and with it Edwards' would agree.

An examination of the writings of Ames and Edwards convinces this writer that there is no essential difference in their position on the question of human freedom. Both were sound predestinarians and the special emphasis placed by Ames on preparation for salvation in no way altered his deterministic views. He is adamant in his insistence upon the doctrines

¹² Marrow, I.13.10.

¹³ Jonathan Edwards, *The Great Doctrine of Original Sin Defended; Evidences of Its Truth Produced, and Arguments to the Contrary Answered*, Part I, Chapter 1, Section 3.

¹⁴ Marrow, I,14.28-29.

of election, predestination, and calling. Salvation for both is the act of God, not in any manner participated in by depraved man. What may appear to be theological differences between them are in reality only differences in emphasis. Parker strikes a note which is pertinent:

... Puritan thought differs from Calvin's (Edwards') in being much more concerned with man's salvation and less concerned with God's glory. For Puritans predestination was most important for its role in the conversion process; for Calvin (Edwards) it was a teaching which emphasized God's mercy and also his justice.¹⁵

Influenced by the Pietism of the continent, Ames laid great emphasis on practical holiness, but Edwards certainly did not abrogate this concept, as an examination of his sermons will reveal. Ames stressed a certain freedom within the will of God but denied that man has freedom of himself. He veered away from scholasticism and intellectualizing religion, but did not depart from the basic tenets of Reformed Theology. Ames stressed the practical while Edwards emphasized the intellectual, but Ames was also intellectual and Edwards practical.

In the last analysis there was more affinity between Ames and Edwards than is commonly supposed. Both spoke boldly to their day and to succeeding generations, and if Edwards is viewed as a reaction against certain abuses resulting from the concept of preparation in early New England and the reverter to pure Calvinism, it is not improbable that Ames, living in the same age, also would have reacted against them. For notwithstanding his many unique insights and emphases, Ames was also a Calvinist.

SOME NOTES TOWARDS A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOHN CALVIN

ROGER NICOLE

As the title of the present article indicates, no claim is made here to exhaustiveness. Rather this is a survey of the present situation with special emphasis on works recently published. The treatment will be divided as follows:

- I Bibliographical helps.
- II Works of Calvin himself.
- III Studies on the life and thought of Calvin (special emphasis on his doctrinal thought).
- IV Studies on Calvinism (very brief indeed).
- V Survey of the production for the anniversary year 1959.
- VI Conclusion.

¹⁵ Parker, p. 142.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL HELPS.

Foremost among bibliographical helps will naturally be the superb work of A. Erichson, *Bibliographia Calviniana*, (Berlin: Schwetschke, 1900. 161 pp.) This first appeared in the 59th volume of the great edition of Calvin's works in the *Corpus Reformatorum*. It contains a remarkably complete list of Calvin's works in any language, chronologically listed. This is followed by a catalogue of works about Calvin and Calvinism, classified by subjects and including more than 880 titles. Only seldom can omissions be detected in this very able work. Unfortunately, however, it does stop at 1900.

T. H. L. Parker, "A Bibliography and Survey of the British Study of Calvin, 1900-1940." *Evangelical Quarterly*, XVIII (1946), 123-131, complements remarkably for the English-speaking world the work of Erichson. It considers not merely whole volumes written about Calvin, but also periodical articles and occasionally sections in books.

E. G. Leonard, "Bibliographie Calvinienne abrégée." *Revue de Théologie et d'Action Evangéliques*, III (1943), 405-424, is especially valuable with respect to works in French. It has been republished in 1959 in the fine Calvin volume entitled *Calvin et la Réforme en France*.

François Wendel, *Calvin, Source et Evolution de sa Pensée Religieuse* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950. 292 pp.) is a very handy manual and contains a fine bibliography on pp. 277-284.

John T. McNeill, "Thirty Years of Calvin Study." *Church History*, XVII (1948), 207-240, covers the period 1918-1948. It is supplemented by Edward E. Dowey, "Survey, . . . Studies in Calvin and Calvinism since 1948." *Church History*, XXIV (1955), 360-367. Both of these discuss the significance of the contributions made and are very helpful.

Peter Barth, "25 Jahre Calvinforschung." *Theologische Rundschau*, N. F. VI (1934), 161-175, 246-267, specializes in Continental scholarship from 1909 to 1934.

A. Lang, "Recent German Books on Calvin." *Evangelical Quarterly*, VI (1934), 64-81, and R. Centilivre, "Ouvrages Récents sur Calvin." *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, XVI (1928), 283-299 are somewhat dated. So is the survey of the literature on Calvin around 1909, fourth centenary of his birth, to be found at the close of the fourth volume of Emile Doumergue's great work on *Jean Calvin, les Hommes et les Choses de son Temps*, Lausanne: Bridel, 1910. Pp. 419-480. These may, however, be consulted with profit.

The following articles are concerned with very recent works: W. Niesel, "Où en sont les Publication Calviniennes?" *Revue Réformée*, X

(1959), 2, 1-12; Hanns Rueckert, "Calvin Literatur seit 1945." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, L (1959), 64-74; P. Vogelsanger, "Neuere Calvinliteratur." *Reformatio*, VIII (1959), 362-366, W. Niesel informs us that he has a file of some 1200 titles of books, pamphlets and articles published on Calvin since 1900. If he were to publish this file, it would be a superb continuation of the work of Erichson.

II. WORKS OF CALVIN HIMSELF.

We shall subdivide as follows: 1. General. 2. *Institutes*. 3. Commentaries. 4. Sermons. 5. Tracts. 6. Letters.

1. General.

It is well known that the best collection of Calvin's works is found in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, XXIX-LXXXVII, Brunswick: Schwetschke, 1863-1900, edited by J. W. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss, P. Lobstein, A. Erichson, W. Baldensperger, and L. Horst. This is commonly abbreviated CR, and the numbering of the 59 Calvin volumes often refers not to the whole series, but to the specific part of it devoted to Calvin. It is subdivided as follows: I-IV, various editions of the *Institutes* in Latin and in French; V-Xa, Theological Tracts; Xb-XX, 4271 Letters; XXI-XXII, Life of Calvin, *Annales Calviniani*, 3 Confessions, Indices; XXIII-LV, Commentaries and Sermons in the order of the books of the Bible; LVI, LVII, the French Bible of Calvin; LVIII, LIX, Supplement (13 sermons), Indices, Bibliography. Unfortunately this work is extremely scarce, and it is very difficult and expensive to secure a copy. This edition is not absolutely complete, but it supersedes all previous editions both for accuracy and for completeness. It is an indispensable tool for all serious Calvin research.

Earlier collections, like the 9-volume Amsterdam edition, published in Latin by Schipper in 1667, can still be serviceable in many respects, and can be obtained without too much difficulty. The Geneva edition in 7 volumes, published by Vignon & Chouet in 1617, is more scarce.

A set of select works in Latin was published in Germany under the direction of Peter Barth and Wilhelm Niesel: *Opera Selecta*, 5 vols. Munich: Kaiser, 1926-1952. Volume I contains writings produced between 1533 and 1541, including the 1536 edition of the *Institutes*; volume II, which saw the light only in 1952, contains theological treatises issued between 1542 and 1564; volumes III-V are a critical edition of the definitive 1559 edition of the *Institutes* in Latin. Some of these, after being long out of print, are being reissued.

One may mention in passing the following recent selections:

Oeuvres de Jean Calvin, 3 vols. Paris: Je Sers, 1934-1936. (Catéchisme, Trois Traités, Sermons.) A. Lecerf and A. M. Schmidt, editors.

Oeuvres Choiesies, publiées par la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève. Geneva: Jullien, 1909. viii, 431 pp.

Calvin, *Homme d'Eglise*. Geneva & Paris: Je Sers, 1936. 320 pp.

Textes Choisis par Charles Gagnebin. Paris: Egloff, 1948, 323 pp.

Calvin tel qu'il fut. Textes choisis et annotés par le Chanoine Cristiani. Paris: Arthème Fayard, 1955. 256 pp. (A violently anticalvinistic caricature.)

On God and Political Duty. New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1950. 102 pp.

On the Christian Faith. New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1957. xxxiv, 219 pp. Both of these volumes contain selections edited by John T. McNeill. They are available at very low cost.

For a helpful comparison between various editions of Calvin's collected works prior to the appearance of the CR, one may refer to the third volume of Paul Henry, *Das Leben Johannes Calvins*, 1844. Beilage 175-252.

2. Institutes.

On this subject the elaborate article by B. B. Warfield "On the Literary History of Calvin's Institutes" is most helpful. It appeared at first in *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, X (1899), 193-219, and was republished with additions as a preface to the memorial edition of the Institutes prepared by the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1909, and in subsequent editions from the same Board. It may also be found in *Calvin and Calvinism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. This very learned article covers most aspects of the publication of the Institutes, in the original languages, in translation, and in abridged form. It contains a very valuable comparison between the three English translations by Norton, Beveridge and Allen.

Albert Autin, *L'Institution Chrétienne de Calvin. Etude Historique et Littéraire*. (Paris: Malfère, 1929. 164. pp.) and J. W. Marmelstein, *Etude Comparative des Textes Latins et Français de L'Institution . . .* (Groningen: Wolters, 1921. 145 pp.) are helpful for historical and critical study. One will also consult with profit some older works, such as Henry Beveridge's Preface to his translation, and the Prolegomena to the Institutes in the CR, where a learned discussion is to be found of the relationship among the various editions issued during Calvin's lifetime and between the French and the Latin texts. (Cf. also the editions of Barth-Niesel III, vi-1 and J. D. Benoît, I, 1-17). In a very brief summary the following may be stated. There are three families of editions as follows:

- | | | |
|----|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| a) | 1536 | Latin only, with 6 chapters. |
| b) | 1539 and 1541, | Latin and French, with 17 chapters. |
| | and ff. | |

- c) 1559 and ff. Latin and French, with 80 chapters (5 times the bulk of 1536).

We may note the following editions:

- In Latin: 1536 CR; Barth-Niesel, I.
 1539 and ff. CR; 1543, 1545, 1550, 1553, 1554.
 1559 CR; Barth-Niesel, III-V (the best edition, with critical notes). It is fairly easily available in the Tholuck editions (Berlin: Eichler, 1835 or Thome, 1846.)
- In French: 1541 CR. This was the only French translation actually executed by Calvin himself. It was critically republished in 1911 by Henri Chatelain et Jacques Pannier (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 176 and 177) and again by Jacques Pannier in 4 volumes (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936-1939). Unfortunately both of these editions are out of print and quite rare.
 1545, 1551, 1553, 1554, 1557 were not republished
 1560 CR; The 19th century editions Paris: Meyrueis, 1859, 2 vols. and Geneva: Beroud, 1888 are long since out of print. Two new editions deserve notice here: a popular edition in slightly modernized French in 4 vols. (Geneva: Labor & Fides, 1955-1958), and a scientific critical edition by J. D. Benoit, projected in 5 volumes, and of which the first two have thus far appeared (Paris: J. Vrin, 1957 ff.).
- In German: 1536 Translated by B. Spiess. Wiesbaden: Limbarth, 1887. xvi, 432 pp.
 1559 The first translation appeared at Heidelberg in 1572. A more modern version was executed by F. A. Krummacher, and published at Elberfeld: Hassel, in 1823 and 1834. O. Weber's translation, originally published in 3 vols. (Neukirchen: Erziehungsverein, 1936-1938) has recently been issued in one large volume of 1196 pp. (Neukirchen: Erziehungsverein, 1955).
- In English: 1536 The first three chapters were recently translated by Dr. Walter G. Hards in a doctoral dissertation for Princeton Theological Seminary, entitled "A Critical Translation and Evaluation of the Nucleus of the 1536 Edition of Calvin's Institutes." Dr. Hards has further prepared a translation of the other three chapters, and it is hoped that his labors will soon be accessible in print.
 There are now three translations available:
 Thomas Norton's London: Wolfe and Harison, 1561.
 John Allen's London: Wacker & Hatchard, 1813. 3 vols.
 Henry Beveridge's Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1845, 1846. 3 vols.
 The last two translations have been frequently reprinted and are available new at present. The firm of Wm. B. Eerdmans, in Grand Rapids, Mich., has reprinted both of them. The least expensive text is that of Beveridge, available in Britain at

30/-, or \$4.20 (London: James Clarke), and in a paperback form at \$5.00 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959). A new edition of the *Institutes* is to be published in Vols. XX and XXI of the "Library of Christian Classics," under the editorship of John T. McNeill.

The *Institutes* in Latin and in French were provided with extensive indices, but this was not the case with the English translations. To fill this gap, Leroy Nixon has recently published an *Index to Calvin's Institutes* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1951. 50 pp.).

In Dutch: 1559 A translation appeared as early as 1560, and was often reprinted. Another translation, by W. Corsman, was printed in 1650, and reissued with a preface by Abraham Kuyper in 1889 (Doesburg: van Schenck Brill, 1889. lxxii, 914 pp.). The same translation in modernized spelling was edited by J. H. Landwehr (Amsterdam: van Bottenburg, n. d. lii, 912 pp.). Another translation was prepared in connection with the appearance of the CR (Kampen: Zalsman, 1865-1868, and again 1890-1893. 3 vols.). More recently still A. Sizoo issued yet another translation (Delft: Meinema, 1931 ff. and again in 1949 and 1950, 3 vols.).

In other languages: 1536 Czech, Hungarian (1903 and 1936), and Spanish (1936) translations have been executed.

1559 Italian (1557), Spanish (1597, 1858 and 1959), Bohemian (1617), Hungarian (1624), Polish (1626), Japanese (1934-1939 and many times since). A Portuguese translation is planned for 1960.

In abridged forms: Perhaps Calvin's own *Instruction et Confession de Foy dont on use dans l'Eglise de Genève*, 1537 (Latin translation, Basel, 1538), might be mentioned first. It was republished in 1878 and again, in modernized French in 1957 (*Revue Réformée*). An English translation of this was made by P. T. Fuhrmann (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949. 96 pp.). A number of other abbreviations have been made. We note those of Edmund Bunney (1579; in English 1580), of G. Delaune (1583; in English 1585, and often since including 1837 and 1853), of Olevianus (1586), of Piscator (1589; in English 1596), of Colonius (1628), of Samuel Dunn (*Christian Theology*, London, 1837), of J. P. Wiles (*Instruction in Christianity*, 1920, and again Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1947), and of H. T. Kerr (*A Compend of the Institutes*, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1939). Abridgements in German by Kalthoff (Elberfeld, 1828) and in Dutch by G. Elzenga (Kampen: Kok, 1903) and by B. Wielenga (Kampen: Kok, 1934) should also be listed here.

Apparently no one seems to have deemed it necessary to produce a commentary on the *Institutes*, perhaps because the work is so clear that

comments are really not required! One may note however the work of A. H. de Hartog, *Noodzakelijke Aanvullingen tot Calvin's Institutie* (Amsterdam: Kruyt, n.d. 3 vols.) This work, produced in 1911 and 1912, has proved less necessary than its author anticipated.

3. Commentaries.

The activity of Calvin as a commentator was prodigious, and his importance in dogmatics should not cause us to forget his significance in exegetical theology. He covered Genesis through Joshua, Psalms, and all the Prophets except Ezekiel 21-48. He also commented on the whole New Testament except II and III John and Revelation. These are available as follows:

In Latin, everything is found in CR. Genesis (1838), Psalms (1836), and the New Testament (1831-1834, and again 1834-1838) were published by A. Tholuck and Hengstenberg in the middle of last century. These are still fairly easily available.

In French, the commentaries were fairly often published in the 16th century. They appear not to have been reissued in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the 19th century, the Psalms (Paris: Meyrueis, 1859. 2 vols.) and the New Testament (Paris: Meyrueis, 1854f. 4 vols. and Toulouse: Soci     des Livres Religieux, 1892-1895. 4 vols.) were issued, but they are wholly out of print and quite rare. A new edition in modernized French is projected under the auspices of the French Calvinistic Society, to be published by Labor & Fides.

In German, an edition under the leadership of F. K. M    ller included the Pentateuch, Psalms, Isaiah and the New Testament. A new series, under the editorship of O. Weber, is in process of publication and will include some of the sermons of Calvin (Neukirchen: Erziehungsverein, 1937-)

In Dutch practically all the commentaries have been translated and are easily obtained.

In English, there was a very remarkable flowering of translations at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th. One may note the following:

- 1570 Daniel (A. Golding, tr.)
- 1571 Psalms (A. Golding, tr.)
- 1577 Romans (Rosdell, tr.), I Cor. (T. Tymme, tr.), I John and Jude.
- 1578 Genesis (T. Tymme, tr.), Joshua (W. Fulke, tr.), Jonah (N. Baxter, tr.)
- 1581 Galatians (R. Vaux, tr.), Colossians (R. Vaux, tr.)
- 1583 Romans (2d. ed.)
- 1584 The four Gospels (E. Paget, tr.), John (C. Fetherstone, tr.), Philipians (W. Becket, tr.), I John and Jude (W. H., tr.)
- 1585 Acts (C. Fetherstone, tr.)

- 1605 Hebrews (C. Cotton, tr.)
 1609 Isaiah (C. Cotton, tr.)
 1610 Synoptic Gospels, John (Fetherstone, tr., 2d. ed.)
 1620 Jeremiah 1-5.

After 1620 no further edition seems to have appeared in English until 1840. On that date Psalms was republished in London in 3 vols. In 1841 Hebrews appeared in London. In 1841 and 1842, Gal., Eph., Phil., Col. appeared in the "Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet." The year 1844 marks the beginning of the activity of the Calvin Translation Society, which was to publish all of Calvin's commentaries in English between 1844 and 1856. There seems to be some question as to the exact number of volumes in a complete set, and the following clarification may be of help:

Old Testament Commentaries	30 vols.
New Testament Commentaries	15 vols. (Including Romans, translated by Owen, 1849)
Another translation of Romans	1 vol. (Reprint of C. Rosdell's translation, 1844)
<i>Institutes</i>	3 vols. Beveridge's translation, 1845, 1846.
Tracts	3 vols. Beveridge's translation, 1845 1849, 1851.

These 52 volumes comprise the whole of the publications of the Calvin Translation Society. Occasionally, however, a higher figure is quoted because Calvin's *Letters* (2 or even 4 vols.) are included, although issued by other publishers. Sometimes also the 2-volume translation of Paul Henry's *Life of Calvin* is numbered in the set. Thus the extremes of 45 vols. and 58 vols. may be found in catalogs, and practically all the intermediate numbers! The 45 volumes of commentaries were republished by Eerdmans between 1949 and 1950. They have received a very wide distribution through the efforts of this firm and are kept available new at the present time. The lectures on Joel were republished again in London: Banner of Truth, 1959.

Selections from the Commentaries arranged topically were prepared by Joseph Haroutunian and published as Volume 23 of "The Library of Christian Classics" (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1958. 414 pp.)

(To be continued)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

John Calvin Contemporary Prophet, edited by Jacob T. Hoogstra. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1959. 257 pp. \$4.50.

Under the general editorship of Mr. Hoogstra of the Calvinistic Action Committee a group of outstanding Calvinist scholars has assembled what may well prove to be the most enduring tribute in the English language to the great Swiss reformer in this past year of his memorial. The list of contributors reveals a cosmopolitan and sympathetic approach to the task of emphasizing the special quality of Calvin's Christianity and its present relevance. The symposium represents both an act of piety and a vigorous re-affirmation to the church of the perennial significance of one of her noblest pastor-teachers.

Following a brief survey by Dr. John H. Gerstner of the state of Calvinism today the book is divided into three sections of quite disparate length. The first five chapters characterize the personal manner, pastoral care and literary activity of the "prophet," the remaining bulk of the book, comprising the third section, features the relevance of his thought, first for contemporary theological discussion and then for virtually every major phase of cultural interest.

The personal image of Calvin gained in the first two sections by a gleaning from all his writings and from his biographer Beza sharply contradicts the distortions of such writers as Otto Ritschl and, more recently, Erich Fromm. We see here no cold, authoritarian, compulsive bully who knows how to hate and loves to do it, no Machiavellian lawyer lusting for power, no Genevan Pope. The composite portrait is one of a humble scholar, deeply conscious of his own sinfulness, reluctant to enter his peculiar role in Geneva, the earnest, conscientious pastor seeking only the glory of God and the heart-balm of his charges. William Childs Robinson, without extenuation of the Servetus incident, shapes the apologetics others have advanced for Calvin into a thorough but compact account, leaving a most exact précis of Calvin's attitude, liberal for the sixteenth century, in the statement—"Calvin did not favor burning for heresy; but he did favor capital punishment for blasphemy."

For the larger section we must satisfy ourselves with the brief comment that each chapter is the product of an expert. The treatment is solid and yet popular. If we were to select but one essay as an epitome perhaps we should prefer J. Vanden Berg's "Calvin and Missions" not because it is more excellent than others but because it conveys for many present-day evangelicals a surprising impression of Calvin's concern for

the conversion of the heathen and of the theological foundations he laid for later missionary activity.

In sum, we have here a uniformly able and faithful display of the person and thought of the gifted theologian and exegete of the reformation. Mr. Hoogstra *et al.* have rendered the Christian church a valuable service in producing this labor of love. Because of Calvin's overwhelming passion to glorify only God and because of the clear exposition of his mind in this book the effect, we predict, will be to stimulate and instruct many Christian readers. This result, more than any eulogy, is the most appropriate recognition Calvinists can cherish for the genius of their prophet.

—T.G. Spires

Calvin's Doctrine of Man, by T. F. Torrance. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957. 183 pp. \$3.00.

The author, distinguished church historian and editor of the *Scottish Journal of Theology*, has provided students of Calvin a new issue of his earlier study of Calvin's anthropology, designed to rid the field forever of the incrustations classical interpretation and present-day Barthian exegetes have piled upon the subject. "To the text itself" is his motto, and caution his watchword. The result is a valuable standard documentary, even if the high tone of objectivity is not always sustained.

No one can gainsay the magistral erudition of Professor Torrance, nor question his eminence among *Calvinforscher* but it is quite easy to demonstrate in this book strong bias for expressing dialectically Calvin's views in areas where the Reformer simply cannot be modernized. To cite a few obvious examples: the copious use of the terms "mercy" and "grace" in expounding the Calvinian doctrine of divine creation, the correlation of depravity and redemption (ch.7), the thesis that the *imago Dei* is grounded in the internal witness of the Spirit (pp. 52ff.) — practices none of which would be sanctioned by any reputable Calvin scholars outside the Barthian circle. Dr. John McNeill's caveat regarding Niesel's reconstruction of Calvin's views holds with respect to this book as well, I judge. Let the reader study it judiciously, alert to the novel forms into which Calvin's utterances are gathered, and he will gain a richer, more elaborate understanding of the Reformed anthropology.

—T.G. Spires

Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament, by Ronald S. Wallace. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957. 253 pp. \$3.00.

Here is another issue from the Scottish group of Calvin research, this one by the brother-in-law of T. F. Torrance, R. S. Wallace, whose star is definitely waxing among Reformation scholars. It is a work of

patient, exhaustive documentation, especially distinguished by the author's faithful dedication to his intended program: "The form of outline and the theological expressions used in this book are suggested by Calvin's own language and thought." With only the slightest occasional hesitation, I would concur that Pastor Wallace has expressed Calvin's teaching "as copiously, fairly and sympathetically as possible."

The reasonably familiar reader of Calvin's works will not discover any radically new lines of interpretation, precisely because Wallace has done his spade-work thoroughly and honestly. No better antidote can be found than the first ten chapters of this book, to the loose and flamboyant representations of Calvin's theory of the Word of God which one hears today. Chapters 7 and 8 in particular have been aimed directly against Volume I/1 of the *Church Dogmatics*. Similarly, the generally acknowledged view of Calvin respecting the sacraments is amply displayed. In this latter discussion, however, the author pushes his inquiry into some areas often overlooked by the casual student. For example, a quite detailed account is given of Calvin's thoughts on the delicate matter of infantile regeneration, and the reformer's critique of the Lutheran doctrines of *communicatio idiomatum* is fully expressed as well.

The value of this book is not confined to its corrective function, for the author, by permitting his subject to speak freely and completely, places us under the tutelage of the master exegete and theologian of the Reformation. To be taught by him concerning the means of grace at a time when the Word and the Sacraments are both being so widely abused even within the evangelical fold is a timely blessing indeed.

—T.G. Spires

Melancthon, the Quiet Reformer, by Clyde Leonard Manschreck, New York: Abingdon Press, 1958. 350 pp. \$6.00.

Melancthon, particularly in accounts of the Reformation issuing from the English-speaking world, has usually appeared not only as a "quiet," but even as a somewhat shadowy reformer. This new biography, therefore, the first in English in over fifty years, should be very welcome. Written by an associate professor of religion at Duke University it draws widely both from the original sources and from recent European Luther studies. Moreover, as it is interestingly written, it should prove to be a work popular equally with scholars and general readers.

The sub-title of the work "the quiet reformer" forms the general theme which runs throughout its pages. This is very apparent from the attitude to Luther, who usually appears as a none-too-intellectual "strong bull of Bashan," while his helper and assistant is pictured as the quiet,

peace-loving scholar who because of his desire for objectivity frequently appeared to be a compromiser. While it must be admitted that Luther was not a scholar of the order of Melancthon, one cannot help feeling that the contrast is at times somewhat overdrawn.

Probably the most interesting parts of the book are those in which the author deals with the three main points upon which Melancthon was attacked in his own day and has been ever since: compromise with Rome, crypto-Calvinism in the matter of the Lord's Supper, and synergism. In treating of Melancthon's dealings with Rome, Manschreck indicates clearly that the reformer was prepared to surrender nearly everything except justification by faith (chaps. 13, 14 and pp. 285ff.). As far as the influence of Calvin's views of the Lord's Supper are concerned, the author apparently does not feel that they were of any importance, as he mentions the Genevan reformer only two or three times, and never in connection with this matter. He gives no hint of the correspondence Melancthon carried on with Calvin regarding the problem. He does admit, however, that Melancthon eventually came to a position which was very close to that of the Swiss churches (pp. 235ff.). Finally with regard to his synergism, i.e., that man must cooperate with God to obtain salvation, one finds it a little difficult to accept his interpretation that Melancthon gained it purely from his biblical studies. The fact that he gradually fell increasingly under the influence of Aristotle (p.82) would seem to point to another source for his views. It would appear that he eventually adopted a humanistic position which was really in conflict with that of Luther, although Manschreck states without actual proof that the latter "abandoned his earlier views on predestination" (p. 299).

There are many other points with which this work deals and which are of importance for an understanding of the Reformation, and in particular of Melancthon. What has been said, however, indicates that the author has endeavoured to deal with the problems raised by the life of "the quiet reformer." Although one may not always agree with his interpretations, there is no doubt that Professor Manschreck has written a very useful study of a little known but important figure in the sixteenth-century Reformation.

—W. Stanford Reid

Jonathan Edwards The Preacher, by Ralph G. Turnbull. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958. 192 pp. \$3.95.

Jonathan Edwards is portrayed in this book as a preacher and pastor. The author's intent is to correct that false caricature of the New England divine which shows him as a cold, unbending hyper-Calvinist, totally out of touch with the pulsating stream of life around him.

The work is timely because of the renaissance of Edwards studies and the consequent reprinting of his works by Yale University, marking the 200th anniversary of his death. In style, Turnbull's work is more popular than books such as Perry Miller's *Errand in the Wilderness* (Cambridge, 1956), yet it is a storehouse of information carefully gleaned by the author. The several appendices show the extent and nature of the research employed.

Edwards is brought forward here, not in his academic regalia, but in his pastoral garb. He is introduced, not alone as an abstract theologian activated by the immutable principles of a sovereign God, but as a shepherd of the sheep constrained by the love of Jesus Christ. Turnbull declares him to have been no monolithic fatalist but a man who reveled in the fellowship of the God of Grace. For Edwards, religion was the "binding back of the soul to God" (p. 84) and theology was the divinely revealed mystery as to how this was accomplished.

Edwards was not a man of one sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." He was consistently a good preacher delivering messages which laid hold of the hearts of men. His preparation of a sermon was thorough but so was his preparation of the preacher. His thirteen hours' daily stint in the study was punctuated by two sessions of prayer. This it was that made possible "his mighty advocacy of Christ" and led to revival in New England.

The greatness of Jonathan Edwards lies in this: his understanding of the human predicament as seen against the backdrop of God's eternal grace and his ability to express this as a theologian, to interpret it as a philosopher and to apply it as minister of Jesus Christ.

The book makes very good reading for the modern pastor as well as for those with a historical interest in New England.

—William Nigel Kerr

The Pattern of Love, by William P. Wylie. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958. xii, 212 pp. \$3.75.

William P. Wylie joins many others in being disturbed by certain contemporary attitudes toward sex and marriage that are in conflict with "Mother Kirk" (C. S. Lewis' name for a not-so-coherent but nonetheless real body of attitudes that appear in relationship to the Church). But Wylie does not argue that we must return to some earlier orthodoxy. Instead he makes the unexpected statement that the world and Mother Kirk really are not so far apart, and that someone ought to point out that fact. This obligation Wylie himself undertakes in *The Pattern of Love*.

The result is a somewhat mystical synthesis that presents all aspects of the love relationship as important parts of a coherent and essentially

holy pattern. The frame of reference is strongly literary; there are recurring references to Dante, Charles Williams, C. S. Lewis, and others. The flavor is reminiscent of the late Middle Ages. The tone is optimistic: ours is the appropriate age, Wylie argues, for "re-uniting love and marriage into the one true pattern . . ." (p. 209).

How successful is Wylie in providing a blueprint for the true marital structure? He presents a conceivable pattern that holds gracefully all types of observable phenomena in love and marriage; there is room for calf love, forecast of love, and brief encounters as well as for enduring affection. He supports in a positive way the physical expression of love beyond the conscious purpose of procreation. Without compromising his own respect for the sacramental nature of marriage, he recognizes some values in uncanonical unions. Despite special attention to romantic love, he really buttresses the values of chastity, patience, fidelity, forgiveness, and spiritual growth that devoutly restrained lovers have been experiencing for a long time. And above all, to his own satisfaction at least he keeps his pattern consistent with the spirit and teachings of Christ.

This lovely structure notwithstanding, Wylie is not coercive in proving that his pattern is theologically so. Many will have relevant and cogent objections. Some will struggle with his mystical constructions of sex. Even mystics will question the neat classifications of the love experience. Conservatives in religion, and probably others too, will consider with caution such affirmations as that the image of God is revealed in man through the creative aspect of sex, that romantic love is closely akin to beatific vision, and that "the aim and end of the grand experiment [true marriage] is precisely the transformation of romantic love into *caritas*" (p. 133). Whether these things are so, who indeed is to say?

No, Wylie does not convince that his is the true rationale of the one true pattern. But if not too quick to accept the theology, a married couple—young or old—might come away from the reading of this book with greater inclination to participate more fully in the whole relationship. But the cause would not be science or logic or theology. It would be the sweetness of the poetic vision.

—C. J. Simpson

The Visible Words of God, by Joseph C. McLelland. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1958. 291 pp. \$4.00.

The historian and theologian are much indebted to Dr. McLelland for this needed study in a long neglected area. Many of the able scholars of the Reformation have been overshadowed by more publicly situated contemporaries who formed the "general staff" of the sixteenth-century fight against ecclesiastical tyranny and theological corruption. Unfortunately,

the few studies which have been done on such men as Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr have never appeared in English. McLelland's study of Peter Martyr Vermigli (1530-1562) is thus very welcome and will take its place with the recent reformation studies by T. H. L. Parker, Ernest William Hunt, Gordon Rupp, Geoffrey Bromiley, and Thomas F. Torrance.

The 68-page biography which precedes the study proper is obviously the product of penetrating research in difficult-to-find sources. It vividly reveals the religious progress of Peter Martyr as he thinks and prays his way out of Romanism into the liberty of the Christian man. It is an intriguing story, well told, that shows Peter Martyr enjoying fellowship with Bullinger, teaching and preaching as a fellow-laborer with Martin Bucer, serving under Cranmer, conferring with Hooper and generally contacting the great of the Reformation.

Martyr's influence on Cranmer through his writing of annotations on the *Book of Common Prayer* is particularly emphasized. This effort stands with Bucer's *Censure* as a formative factor in Cranmer's development. McLelland also notes Martyr's hand in the writing of the XXXIX Articles and his work with Hidden and Taylor in the laying out of the unpublished but significant *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.

McLelland takes as the core of Martyr's method his doctrine that the person of Christ is the *archetype* of all theological thinking. The doctrine of analogy is the key to Martyr's theology. This particularly finds its focus in the Lord's Supper where that doctrine has special reference since this is "the center of the service of God." Martyr saw an *analogical* relationship between God's Word and the two sacraments, the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and on this basis he rejected all five additional Romanist sacraments (p. 138). What are the sacraments? They are "gracious accomodation of God's Word of forgiveness given visibility according to the inner ratio of that grace, the union with Christ as *new birth* and *new life*" (p. 137). The sacraments are "visible words" (from Augustine), their signs being water, bread and wine. The faith which makes these signs effective guarantees that the Church is the Body of the Incarnate Word.

McLelland's point of vantage in writing is Calvinistic and as such he is in accord with Peter Martyr who like Bucer held most things in common with the Genevan reformer. The content at times becomes heavy because of necessity for editing of the original text for publication, but it does not become obscure. It does seem at times that the author could have given more space to interpretation in order to round out his excellent exposition. It is fortunate that the many significant pasages quoted from Peter Martyr were not eliminated. These, in themselves, make this a book well worth reading.

—William Nigel Kerr

BRIEF NOTICES

Christendom, by Einar Molland. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. xiv, 418 pp. \$10.00.

An excellent survey of the major Christian churches, their history and doctrines, their modes of worship, and their present problems by the Oslo University professor of ecclesiastical history (a Lutheran). Covered at length are the Orthodox church, Roman Catholicism, the Anglican churches, the Lutheran church, the Reformed churches, Methodism, Congregationalism, and the Baptist churches. Shorter chapters deal with Pentecostalism, the Salvation Army, the Adventists, Quakerism, Swedenborgianism, Disciples of Christ, and the Church of South India among others. Unitarianism, Christian Science, the Jehovah's Witnesses, and Mormonism are treated as containing Christian elements. There are some interesting comments on ecumenism. A useful reference which is more readable than most similar works.

—T.H.L.

The Fundamentals for Today, ed. Charles Feinberg. Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1968. 2 vols., 657 pp. \$7.95.

A revised reprint of the *Fundamentals*, first issued as booklets (later printed as four bound volumes) just before the First World War, and written by theological conservatives in defense of their faith against liberal and modernistic attitudes. It is salutary that these writings so influential in the development of the platform and historic stream of fundamentalism are now made available. However, the editors must be criticized on several counts. The criteria and scope of revision are nowhere delineated, though condensation, which is sizeable, leaves out a number of papers of earlier editions and at times removes part of the documentation and flavor of the originals without noting the excision. Much more disturbing are ambiguities such as having two papers by different authors condensed as one without making clear who wrote what and having a most important first paragraph excised from part four of the second chapter which changes its whole color. Most disconcerting is the fact that the 'bringing up to date' of the original papers claimed by the editors means only leaving out unfamiliar references and setting a faster tempo, and does not mean the addition of qualification or amplification so necessary to many articles in the light of new perspectives. This can only confuse those who ask whether we agree with these writings in spirit or have petrified their precise statement as creed.

—T.H.L.

The Rise and Development of Calvinism, ed. John H. Bratt. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1959. 133pp. \$2.75.

For a year of Calvin commemoration several faculty members of Calvin College in Grand Rapids have collaborated to produce a compact history of Calvinism. They are not competing with Dr. John T. McNeill. Their work is popular. The book is filled with facts and sympathy. Adequate bibliographical material is included after each of the five chapters for the more deeply interested readers. A handy little volume to own.

—T.G.S.

Calvin's Doctrine of the Last Things

HEINRICH QUISTORP. Translated by Harold Knight. Although Calvin wrote no single work on the subject, his teachings on eschatology are found throughout his writings. In scholarly fashion, Heinrich Quistorp has collated these pertinent passages and examined them. He finds that Calvin expressed his convictions on almost every phase of eschatology. This book will be highly useful to students of Calvin, since it fills a gap in critical knowledge of the great Reformer's teachings on this important topic.

\$3.00

Calvin - A Life

EMANUEL STICKELBERGER. Translated by David Georg Gelzer. A sympathetic and scholarly European student shows us the true nature of the shy, modest, yet dynamic man who was John Calvin. And this is a man Americans should know, for Calvin's genius has influenced the shaping of the political, economic, and social structure of Western democracy. The master touch of this biography is that it enables us to see Calvin's actions through sixteenth-century eyes, rather than from a contemporary framework.

\$2.75

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PIERRE MAURY. Translated by Edwin Hudson. Realizing that the concept of predestination is often misunderstood, Pierre Maury chooses to stimulate thought on the subject. He relates the doctrine to other truths with which it is involved in Holy Scripture, and roots it supremely in Christ. The "Other Papers" include some of Maury's meditations and sermons.

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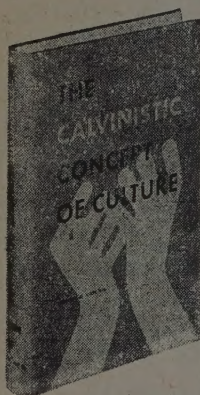
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